THE STUDENTS' SERIES OF LATIN CLASSICS

TACITUS
THE AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA

HOPKINS

HUNC LIBRUM

CUM ALIIS

COLLEGIO JUVENTUTIS SUAE ET JUVENTUTI COLLEGII

DONO LEGAVIT

ALFREDUS GULIELMUS STRATTON, M.A., PH.D.

HUJUS UNIVERSITATIS ET COLLEGII

IN LITTERIS GRAECIS ET LATINIS OLIM ALUMNUS,

UNIVERSITATIS JOHNS HOPKINS SCHOLARIS ET SOCIUS,

UNIVERSITATIS CHICAGO PRAELECTOR,

UNIVERSITATIS LAHORE APUD INDOS

LINGUAE SANSCRITICAE PROFESSOR ET REGISTRARIUS:

ANTE DIEM OBIIT FEBRI MELITENSI IN MONTIBUS KASHMIR

AUGUSTO MENSE A.D. 1902 TRIGINTA SEX ANNOS NATUS.

"Dulces exuviae dum fata deusque sinebant."

"Respiciebat nos antiquo flumine Gangi transito:
respexit, flumen majus magisque antiquum transiturus."

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

A. W. Stratton.

1897.

The Students' Series of Latin Classics

TACITUS

THE AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA

EDITED

ON THE BASIS OF DRAEGER'S AGRICOLA AND
SCHWEIZER-SIDLER'S GERMANIA

WITH INTRODUCTION AND MAPS

BY

A. GROSVENOR HOPKINS
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN HAMILTON COLLEGE

LEACH, SHEWELL, AND SANBORN.
BOSTON. NEW YORK. CHICAGO.
1896

Norwood Press:
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith.
Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

PREFACE.

The text of this edition of the Agricola and Germania is, in the main, Halm's. In cases where I have varied from Halm, it has been in favor of a nearer approach to the manuscript reading. The Critical Apparatus has also been adopted from Halm, with considerable modification.

As the basis of the notes, I have used the fourth edition of the Agricola by Dr. Draeger, and the fifth edition of the Germania by Prof. Schweizer-Sidler. The excellence of the former as a school edition has long been recognized, while the latter is rich in the results of all the later studies in German antiquities. For the Agricola, I have used also the editions of Wex and Kritz, and have enriched the somewhat meager notes of Draeger from various other sources. For the Germania, I have had at hand Prammer, Baumstark, Holtzmann, Kritz-Hirschfelder, and others. As the interest of the Germania lies largely in its ethnography, it has seemed desirable to give considerable fulness to the notes in this and kindred lines. Aside from the regular editions of these two Essays, I have drawn freely from such works as Waitz' Verfassungsgeschichte, Vol. I.; Grimm's Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, and Deutsche Mythologie; Mommsen's Provinces of the Roman Empire; Arnold's Provincial Administration. In addition to references to the common Grammars, points of Syntax are further elucidated

by reference to Schmalz' Lateinische Grammatik and Wölfflin's Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik.

I take pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of Dr. Draeger and Prof. Schweizer-Sidler in permitting me to make their editions the basis of this work. My thanks are also due to Prof. F. E. Rockwood, of Bucknell University, for valuable assistance in reading the proof of both text and notes. To Prof. E. M. Pease, the editor-in-chief of this series, I am under great obligations for his painstaking review of all the Ms. and proof, and for the many valuable suggestions which he has made, both as to the form and substance of the edition.

A. G. HOPKINS.

Hamilton College, January, 1893.

INTRODUCTION.

For the facts in the life of Tacitus, we are indebted almost exclusively to his own writings and to the letters of his friend, the younger Pliny. In the few places where he is mentioned by name, he is called Cornelius Tacitus, or simply Tacitus. His praenomen (on the doubtful authority of Sidonius Apollinaris) has generally been written *Gaius*. In the best Ms., however (Mediceus I., now in Florence), the praenomen *Publius* appears, and this is now accepted as probably correct.

The year of his birth is placed by some authorities as early as A.D. 51, by others as late as A.D. 58. It was certainly earlier than A.D. 62; for he was somewhat older than Pliny Junior, who was born in that year (Plin. Ep. VI. 20). In Ep. VII. 20, Pliny says that he and Tacitus were "almost of the same age," and adds: "In my early manhood, when you were in the full tide of honor and fame, it was my highest ambition to follow in your footsteps, and both in fact and in public esteem to be next to you, though separated by a long interval." Their course of honors, also, indicates a distinction in age. Tacitus was Praetor in A.D. 88, and Consul in A.D. 97. Pliny obtained the Praetorship in A.D. 93, and the Consulship in A.D. 101. We may therefore conclude that there was an interval of five or six years between them, and may fix the birth of Tacitus about A.D. 55.

A prevalent opinion has been that he was born at Interamna. The Emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275–276) claimed relationship with the historian, and in order to insure the preservation of his works, he directed that ten copies should be made each year, at

public expense, and placed in the public libraries. Since this Emperor was born at Interamna, and had a cenotaph and statues erected to him there, it was assumed, without sufficient reason, that the historian was also a native of that place.

It has been argued, from a contemptuous reference which he makes to *municipia* (Ann. IV. 3), that Tacitus himself was born at Rome; but no definite inference can be drawn from so slight an allusion. There is more probability in the suggestion that his father was the Cornelius Tacitus who, the elder Pliny says (N. H. VII. 16. 76), was in his time Procurator in Belgic Gaul. At all events, his culture, his marriage, and his political career, all suggest that he was sprung from a family both respectable and prosperous.

We cannot doubt that Tacitus, in his boyhood, enjoyed a careful training in the refining and liberalizing studies of the time. Especially did he devote himself to the study of eloquence. In Dialogus I. he speaks of himself as having heard, in his youth, the discussions of men practiced in speaking; and in Dialogus II. we read that he frequently heard, in the courts, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, the ablest lawyers of that day, and attended upon their instructions with youthful enthusiasm, both at their homes and in public. It is possible, also, that Quintilian was a teacher of Tacitus, as he certainly was of Pliny. A similarity of studies, tastes, and character brought about an intimate friendship between Pliny and Tacitus. Their names were associated in the public mind, not only in Rome, but all over Italy (Ep. IX. 23), though Pliny cheerfully yielded the palm to Tacitus. It is probable also that, in keeping with the spirit of the age, he served, in early life, in the army. F. Haase has suggested that Tacitus became acquainted with Agricola during those years in which the latter was in command of the province of Aquitania (A.D. 74–77). In harmony with this suggestion are the facts that he was then at the military age (eighteen or nineteen); that his account of Agricola's government of Aquitania is especially detailed; and also that, shortly after Agricola's retirement from that command, his daughter

was betrothed to Tacitus. For, as Kritz observes, it is hardly probable that Agricola, immediately after his return to the city, would have pledged his daughter in marriage to a man almost a stranger to her and to himself.

Tacitus was married to the daughter of Agricola in the year 78, when he was in his twenty-third year, and his wife not more than thirteen or fourteen. His admiration for the nobler qualities of character, both in man and woman, and the comments which he makes upon the happy, honorable, and helpful marriage of Agricola, would lead us to form a favorable opinion of his own married life. Up to the time of the death of Agricola, it would seem that no children were born from this marriage; for we can hardly believe it possible that, had there been any children, they would have been passed over without reference, in the touching description of the closing scenes of Agricola's life. This marriage on the part of Tacitus was doubtless as helpful to him as the marriage with Domitia Decidiana had been helpful to Agricola. It was an honorable and powerful alliance, and was undoubtedly a *decus atque robur sibi ad maiora nitenti* (Agr. 6. 1).

We are not particularly informed as to the details of the political career of Tacitus. He tells us in general (Hist. I. 1) that his elevation was begun by Vespasian, carried on by Titus, and still further advanced by Domitian; but it is impossible to associate the bestowal of definite official honors with any of these emperors except Domitian.

Agricola died A.D. 93, and we learn (Agr. 45) that Tacitus, owing to a long absence, had not seen him for four years before his death. It appears probable that Tacitus, with his wife, left Rome A.D. 89, and did not return until after the death of Agricola. This absence may have been occasioned by his command of a province, but what province is only a matter of conjecture. Kritz has argued that it was Germany. Others suggest that he was Propraetor of Belgic Gaul. Soon after A.D. 93, Tacitus must have returned to Rome, for he describes like an eye-witness, or a participant, the dreadful scenes which marked

the closing years of Domitian's reign (Agr. 45). Domitian was assassinated Sept. 18, A.D. 96, and under the happy age which followed, Tacitus, who by prudence and silence had escaped the wrath of the tyrant, received further political honors. In A.D. 97 he was advanced by Nerva to the Consulship, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the distinguished soldier and patriot, Verginius Rufus, over whom Tacitus pronounced a most eloquent funeral oration (Plin. Ep. II. 16). In A.D. 100 he was associated with Pliny in conducting the case of the people of Africa against their notorious Proconsul, Marius Priscus, who was accused of monstrous crimes and cruelties against the provincials. From this time on, we have no definite knowledge of Tacitus. It is probable that, after finishing his career of political honors, he sought a well-earned retirement, and devoted himself to literature, "having sketched out a vast plan of Roman history, the greater part of which he lived to fulfil." The year of his death, like the year of his birth, is veiled in uncertainty. It is plain, however, that he was living in A.D. 116, since he refers (Ann. II. 61) to the extension of the boundaries of the Empire by Trajan, in his Eastern campaign in A.D. 115. These conquests of Trajan were at once resigned by Hadrian, who succeeded to the Empire A.D. 117.

Tacitus appears in all his writings as a man of refined taste, high character, and great learning, aristocratic, proud, and independent, in politics an admirer of the Senate and a believer, at least theoretically, in the Republic. He passed the greater part of his life under that reign of bloodshed and horror which extended, with but slight interruptions, from the rise of Nero to the death of Domitian. These years filled his mind with those ghastly pictures and that hatred of tyranny which mark all of his writings. Hating the luxury, extravagance, and crime of his own age, he turns with admiration to the sturdier virtues of other peoples and other ages, and draws from these the lessons for public and private life. He regards the downfall of

the patrician oligarchy as the beginning of the sorrows and the shame of Rome, and traces the woes of the state directly to the Empire. "All of his writings are drawn almost in the form of indictments against his own age." And yet, though he hated tyranny and loved liberty, he had no futile longings for the restoration of the Republic. The Empire had become so thoroughly grounded in power and in public sentiment that not even the best of men dreamed of anything different. He was not an "irreconcilable," and however much he detested the Empire and the worst of the Emperors, he still believed it the duty of the good citizen to make the best of the situation. He denounces the madness and crime of those who needlessly defy established authority, and commends Agricola, because, even under a bad prince, he lived a quiet and useful life, free from political intemperance.

The horrors of his age also awakened in him a sceptical temper. At times, he seems to reject the idea of any divine direction of affairs. Again, he is a fatalist. The world is out of joint, and he "has left upon his works the stamp of a profound and rebellious melancholy." And yet we cannot call him an irreverent historian. He rejects the gods of the current theology, but he believes in a certain divine power within man, which mortals ought not to neglect. He was puzzled by the strange contradictions of life, by the intermingling of good and evil; and when incredible iniquity seemed to possess the world, he wavered, and thought that such things either happened through the wrath of the gods, or were due to fate or chance. Merivale (Hist. of Rom. VII. 275) gives it as his opinion that, with the lapse of years, Tacitus grows more and more hopeless of all good. In his earlier writings, he sees the evil of the times and rebukes it with a severity which is mingled with gentleness. But in the Histories and Annals he grows more cynical and bitter. He sees only the evil, and "his hatred of sin is concentrated in hatred of the sinner." "He paints the age all Tiberius or all Nero." But we must judge of his spirit as a man and a historian by the impression which he makes.

No one can read Tacitus without being filled with a reverence for all that is high in virtue and noble in life. If he makes us love virtue and hate vice, if he makes us despise the vanities of life and tread the way of truth and duty, even though it be encompassed by dangers, then we must assign to him qualities of character which are not only profoundly moral, but even religious.

Tacitus is the first example in Rome of the philosophical historian. This claim has sometimes been made for Sallust. But the philosophy of Sallust is foreign and external, a mere ornament, easily detached from the body of his work. The philosophy of Tacitus is blended with his theme. His lessons spring from the subject, and the facts enforce the lessons. His aim in writing history was not simply to record events and results (*qui plerumque fortuiti sunt*, Hist. I. 4), but to trace out their causes and to show their real connection. In this respect he differs widely from Livy. Livy is a master of language, but is not given to reflection. He is credulous in using his authorities, and deals but little with causes.

The style of Tacitus was admirably adapted to historical composition. He inherited a language which had been enriched by Cicero and Vergil. He was both poet and orator, and, more than any of his contemporaries, was influenced by Vergil. Critics have traced a Ciceronian and then a Sallustian stage in his earlier development, in which he seems to have been especially under the influence of those authors. But whatever he may have owed to former masters of Latin, the result in his case was a style, rich, strong, majestic, in keeping with the great times of which he treats. An able critic (Sellar) calls him the one great literary genius born under the Empire. The schools of rhetoric had left their influence upon him. No writer is more sententious and compact. What Quintilian (Lib. X. 1. 73) said of Thucydides might justly be said of Tacitus: *Densus et brevis et semper instans sibi.* He is epigrammatic at times, almost to a fault, and in his effort to avoid the commonplace he uses expressions which are obscure and the outgrowth of a mere conceit.

Tacitus has remarkable artistic and dramatic power. Indeed, he is often as much poet or dramatist as he is historian. His power in analyzing human emotion is remarkable. He does not describe men by groups, or by stock phrases, as Livy does. Each character is distinct, a portrait by itself. He is especially powerful in describing scenes of popular excitement, and in analyzing those passions which move the populace. The scene in which Germanicus quells the sedition of the German legions (Ann. I. 31. and foll.), the account of the overthrow of Sejanus and the arrest and imprisonment of his little daughter (Ann. VI. 4), the scenes at the fall of the amphitheatre at Fidenae (Ann. IV. 62), and the story of the return of Agrippina with the dead body of her husband (Ann. III. 1), are dramatic in their power.

Yet Tacitus the historian is sometimes the victim of the prejudices of Tacitus the man. His aim (Ann. I. 1) was to write history without prejudice or passion, and to this principle he was, in general, true. Yet we can hardly believe that he has been entirely just to some of the monsters of history. Black as were the crimes of Tiberius, Sejanus, and Domitian, it is plain that Tacitus, wherever it is possible, puts a bad construction upon their conduct. Features of the policy of Tiberius which were thoroughly commendable are charged by Tacitus to base motives. It is possible that in this we may detect the spirit of the advocate, rather than of the historian. His profession tended to make him a partisan, and he becomes at times so thoroughly persuaded of his own view of the case that he cannot see that the facts, as he relates them, do not justify his verdict. The character of Tiberius has suffered more from the hints and innuendoes of Tacitus than from the unrestrained garrulity of Suetonius.

Three influences were prominent in giving color to the language and style of Tacitus; viz. the Greek language, the Roman poets, and the schools of rhetoric. The poetry of the Augustan age showed marked traces of Greek syntax. These poets professedly imitated Greek originals, and borrowed both words and constructions from the Greek. Most of the leading Roman poets

are subsequent to Cicero. They were studied diligently by the youth of the following generations, and many of these borrowed idioms were incorporated into the prose style. The influence of Vergil upon later prose is very marked. It is seen even in Livy, who twice introduces fragments of a hexameter from Vergil. Upon Tacitus, as already noticed, the influence of Vergil was most pronounced. It has been said that the student of Vergil, when reading Tacitus, finds himself often upon familiar ground. This poetical coloring appears in such features as: (a) The use of the simple verb for the compound (*vocare* = *provocare*, Ger. 14. 5). (b) The use of the abstract for the concrete (*matrimonia* = *coniuges; pignora* = *coniuges, liberi*). (c) Personification (*annus*, Agr. 31. 2; Ger. 14. 5; *bellum aperuit*, Ger. 1. 1). (d) Rhythmical passages are found in Agr. 9. 7, *haud semper errat*, etc., Agr. 1. 1, *antiquitus usitatum*, etc., both of which may be read as iambic senarii. Hexameters are found in Ann. I. 1; XV. 73; Ger. 32. 1; 39. 1. (e) The frequent omission of the copula. (f) The partitive genitive depending upon abstract nouns or neuter plural adjectives. Draeger (Syntax und Stil, 257 (5)) gives many passages which seem an echo from Vergil. The influence of the schools of rhetoric is also seen in Tacitus. They carried to a pernicious excess the desire to produce a rhetorical effect. The art and trickery of writing were pushed to an extreme. The epigrammatic in Tacitus is not always an excellence. His love of antithesis is carried too far. His passion for variety of expression becomes a disease (*per caritatem et anteponendo*, Agr. 6. 1; *ostentanda virtute aut per artem*, Agr. 9. 5; *temeritate aut per ignaviam*, Agr. 41. 2). But in general the style of Tacitus is sonorous and impressive, though Macaulay holds that in some respects it is peculiarly unfit for historical composition. It certainly has not the charm of simplicity, but it has the charm of a sustained and noble movement.

Aside from the works which are preserved, Tacitus also wrote others, of which our knowledge is very limited and uncertain. We learn from Pliny that Tacitus sent certain books to him for

suggestions and criticism. Fulgentius speaks of a *Liber Facetiarum*, which, if not fictitious, may have been a treatise on the use which the orator should make of wit. Of the extant writings of Tacitus, we have:

I. *Dialogus de Oratoribus.* The authorship of this treatise has often been disputed, and has been variously assigned to Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, or Quintilian. The general verdict now ascribes the work to Tacitus. Pliny, in a letter to Tacitus (Ep. IX. 10. 2), seems to recognize him as the author. The diction, in certain minute particulars, is strikingly suggestive of the earlier writings of Tacitus. It marks the period when he was under the influence of Cicero's style. The *Dialogus* is a treatise on the decline of eloquence under the Empire. The writer's political creed is apparent here. He ascribes the decline of eloquence to the loss of freedom, but believes in a future development of oratory, under the mild sway of just princes. The time of the dialogue is laid (cap. 17) in A.D. 75, though the work was not written till later.

II. *Agricola*, or, *De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae liber.* A biography of his father-in-law, Cn. Julius Agricola, written in A.D. 98. This represents what Teuffel calls the Sallustian epoch of Tacitus. In its style and spirit it resembles the monographs of Sallust. While it is a professed panegyric, it is also a satire. The praises of the hero are two-edged, and every stroke dealt in his honor recoils with a backhanded blow upon the necks of his contemporaries (Merivale, VII. 275). It is a beautiful tribute to a man of pure character and marked ability.

III. *Germania*, or, *de origine et situ Germanorum.* An account of the geography, peoples, and customs of Germany, published also in A.D. 98. His object in writing this treatise has been questioned. It has been regarded, (1) as a covert satire on the corruptions of Rome; (2) as a political pamphlet, intended to dissuade Trajan from a campaign against this formidable people; (3) as inspired by real scientific interest in these barbarous but remarkable tribes; (4) as written to warn the Romans against the dangers to be apprehended

from the repeated assaults of the northern barbarians. The third view is the most probable. Yet in his narrative he naturally takes occasion to contrast the rude virtues and simplicity of the Germans with the growing vices of Rome. As to the sources of his information, if he had served in Germany, as some hold, his own observations and experience would be of service to him. But it is quite enough to assume that he was familiar with what had been written about Germany by the Greeks, as well as by Caesar, Pliny the Elder, Mela, and others. Moreover, ever since the time of Caesar the Romans had been growing familiar with Germany. Romans of high rank had served there, traders had long dealt with the border tribes, and German princes even had resided at Rome; so that there was every opportunity for Tacitus to gather full and accurate information, without having been in the country. The treatise is divided into two parts. Chapters 1–27 describe the climate, soil, and people, the gods, and the political and social customs. Chapters 28–46 contain a catalogue of the different tribes, with their geographical limits and special characteristics. Tacitus shows a much more exact knowledge of western Germany than of the interior or northeastern tribes.

IV. *Historiae.* A narrative of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, covering the years A.D. 69–96. The work was apparently begun as early as A.D. 98 (Agr. 3), but the date of its publication is not known. Originally it consisted of fourteen books, of which only the first four, and half of the fifth, are preserved. These contain the history of the years A.D. 69–70. The style of Tacitus had not yet taken on its final form. Its highest development, in point of epigrammatic condensation and power, is seen in the *Annales.*

V. The *Annales*, or rather *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*, in sixteen books, recording the reigns of the Julian house (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero) after the death of Augustus. They cover the years A.D. 14–68, were written under Trajan, and published probably between 115 and 117. There are preserved only Books I.–IV., parts of Books V. and VI., and also

Books XI.–XVI., with the loss of some chapters at the beginning of XI. and at the end of XVI. The story of Caligula's reign is entirely missing; also the first six years of the reign of Claudius, and the last two of Nero. The order is annalistic, even more than in the Histories. This is the most mature and finished of Tacitus' productions. The narrative is dramatic. The pictures of imperial society are frightful, and the whole work is a terrible arraignment of the age. Merivale calls it "all satire."

Tacitus had planned (Hist. I. 1) to write the history of the times of Nerva and Trajan, and also to prefix to the Annals a history of Augustus, — projects which he never carried out.

Mss. of the Agricola and Germania.

The only two Mss. of the Agricola are found in the Vatican Library at Rome. They are: (1) a paper Ms., No. 3429, designated Γ; (2) a parchment Ms., No. 4498, designated Δ. The former was written by the hand of Pomponius Laetus, a distinguished scholar, who died at Rome in the year 1497. The latter Ms. also belongs to the fifteenth century, and both are doubtless from the same original. The parchment Ms. Δ, though beautiful in execution, is evidently the work of an unlettered man, and is full of errors, and a higher value is attached to Γ. The variations between these Mss. consist in orthography, in the omission of syllables or words, and in the order of words. One reason for the divergence is found in the fact that the writer of Δ received into his text certain marginal readings from the original, while Pomponius followed more closely the older Ms., and retained in the margin the conjectural readings. As an illustration of carelessness in orthography, we have *donos*, *intuero*, *savetas*, *altera*, *viseritis*, *dissolubiles*, etc., for *bonos*, *intueor*, *satietas*, *latera*, *visentis*, *dissociabiles*, etc.

Although the Ms. of Pomponius was written with much greater care, Δ is not without value, as serving in some places to confirm or correct the readings of the better Ms. The

Agricola was first printed with type by Franciscus Puteolanus, at Milan, in 1475, and three editions of this recension exist. It is from this *Recensio Puteolani* that the faulty traditional text of the Agricola was derived. The edition of Wex, published in 1852, and founded upon a rigorous examination and comparison of the two Mss. of the Vatican, has furnished the basis for a more critical study of the text.

The monastery of Fulda, in Germany, is the ultimate source to which the Mss. of the Germania can be traced. As early as the ninth century such a Ms. is known to have been in the possession of that monastery. This is shown by the fact that Rudolfus, one of the monks, who died in 865, in writing the Translatio S. Alexandri, incorporated into his narrative considerable portions of the Germania of Tacitus. Nothing more was known of this Ms. until the fifteenth century, when a monk from the monastery of Hersfeld reported that it was still in existence, but whether at Fulda or at Hersfeld is not certain.

Poggio, apostolic secretary to Pope John XXII. in 1415, heard of the Ms. and made persistent efforts to secure it, but in vain. In 1451, Enoc of Ascoli was sent by Pope Nicholas V. to Gaul and Germany to search for Mss., and shortly before 1460 this Ms., in the original or in a copy, was brought to Italy. It contained the Germania and Dialogus of Tacitus, and the work of Suetonius, De Viris Illustribus. The credit of this discovery is generally ascribed to Enoc of Ascoli, though the claim is not beyond question. This original has been lost, but from this all existing Mss. of the Germania are derived. Opinions have varied widely as to the relative value of these Mss. for text criticism; but general consent, at present, accepts the following order:

1. Codex Vaticanus, 1862 (B). This is evidently based upon the old Fulda Ms. of the ninth century. It has certain peculiarities, which mark it as an independent copy.

2. Codex Leidensis, or Perizonianus (b). This valuable Ms. was carefully prepared by the accomplished and scholarly Jovi-

anus Pontanus (1426–1503). It came, it is not known how, into the possession of Jacob Perizonius, Professor at Leyden (ob. 1715), and is now in the library of that university. In addition to these Mss., the Vaticanus, 1518 (C), and the Neapolitanus (c) deserve mention.

A careful comparison of these Mss., with an estimate of their differences and relative values, has been made by Waitz, in his Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, I. p. 511. To Bb has generally been assigned the first rank. C is marked by carelessness in the orthography. Words and phrases are omitted, or are twice written, and whole sentences occur in which the orthography and sense are entirely corrupt. E.g., in 33. 2, *ac terre odium sui si*, instead of *at certe odium sui*. In many places the *h* is omitted, or written over the line, or falsely inserted; e.g. *ospitiis*, *cohercere*. Again, consonants are doubled, *occeanus*, *collonia*, *cubille*; or one consonant is omitted, *comune*, *comigrare*, etc. We find *n* for *m*, *anplitudo*, *canpestria*; *x* for *s*, *dixtinguntur*; *c* is at times omitted, *santius*, *sindit*; or is written for *t*. The writer of this Ms. evidently took little pains to correct any errors in his original. Waitz finds in it, however, no trace of interpolation. He thinks that it is not inferior in authority to Bb, and that in not a few places it has the better reading.


BRITANNIA
CALEDONIA
Perth
Dundee
Tava Aest.
Ardoch
Stirling
Bodotria Aest.
Frith of Forth
Vallum Pii
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Clota Aest.
Vallum Hadriani
Luguvallium
Cumberland
Brigantes
Mona
I.
(Man)
Aldborough
Easingwold
Praetorium
Eburacum
York
Humber
Mancunium
Mona
I.
Anglesey
Lindum
Lincoln
Deva
Chester
Ordovices
Tern
Severn
Sabrina F.
Viroconium
Wroxeter
Venta
Iceni
Trinovantes
Silures
Glevum
Gloucester
Camalodunum
Colchester
Verulamium
S. Albans
Neath
Nidum
Isca
Caerleon
Venta
Caerwent
Tamesa F.
Londinium
Thames
Sabrina Aest.
Aquae Sulis
Bath
Durovernum
Belgae
Venta
Winchester
Cantii
Regni
Chichester
Gesoriacum
Isca
Cornwall
VECTIS I.
HIVERNIA



CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA ET MORIBUS

IULII AGRICOLAE

LIBER.

Tacitus makes an apology for the Biography of Agricola. Eulogies upon virtue, formerly received with honor, are hardly safe even in the age of Trajan.

1. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tra- 1
dere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem tempori-
bus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens
magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est
vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, igno-
rantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere 2
digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita
celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis
memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum
conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi 3
vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogan-
tiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra
fidem aut obtrectationi fuit; adeo virtutes isdem tem-
poribus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignun-

A = cod. Vaticanus 3429, *B* = cod. Vaticanus 4498; the variants which are not followed by any initial are found in *AB*.

4 tur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis
venia opus fuit; quam non petissem incusaturus tam
saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

Instances of former persecution for writing the lives of good men; yet no tyranny can crush out the natural verdict of mankind. The horrors of Domitian's reign.

1 **2.** Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea,
Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent,
capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in
libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris
ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum
2 in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem
populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam
generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper
sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in ex-
ilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret.
3 Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et
sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset,
ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones
4 etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam
quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in
nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

The happy prospects of the age of Nerva and Trajan. Difficulty of calling the human intellect back to life after its torpor and death. Tacitus refers to other projected works.

1 **3.** Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo
statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim
dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem,

1, 4 fuerit *Roth*, incusaturus. Tam saeva *distinxit Wex*, ni incusaturus tam s. *Lipsius*. 2, 2 vocem *om. B*, occurrē *B*. 3 grande *om B*. 3, 1 rediit *Spengel*. set quamq. *Ed. Bipontini*, dissolubiles *B*.

augeatque cottidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Tra-
ianus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas publica,
sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura
tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia
quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito 2
extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris faci-
lius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius
inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo
amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mor- 3
talis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptis-
simus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci,
ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri
superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis,
quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos
exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. Non 4
tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam
prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bono-
rum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolae
soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus
erit aut excusatus.

Birthplace, parentage, and education of Agricola.

4. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiu- 1
liensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem
Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater 2
Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae
sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai

3, 1 securitatis res publica *Mützell.* 3 multis *AB*, multi *Lipsius.* ut ita *Rhenanus*, et uti (ut sic *Wölfflin in Philol. 26, 139*). 4 servitutis *Ursinus*, senectutis. 4, 1 foriuliensium *B*. Caesaris *B*. 2 Iulius *Lipsius*, Iulii Iulius *A*, Iuli Iulius *B*, illi Iulius *Wölfflin.*

Caesaris meritus; namque M. Silanum accusare iussus
et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Iulia Procilla
3 fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque
educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pue-
4 ritiam adulescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab
inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integram-
que naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram
studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate
et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum.
5 Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in
iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam con-
cessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia
matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coërcuisset.
6 Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem
ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius
quam caute adpetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas,
retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia mo-
dum.

Early training as a soldier under Suetonius Paulinus. Disturbed condition of affairs in Britain.

1 **5.** Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Sue-
tonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit,
2 electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola
licenter, more iuvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam
vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus
titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit; sed noscere

4, 3 honestatis *B.* 4 eum *A*, tamen *B.* 5 in *om. B.* 5 senatorio *Heraeus.* 6 cautius *Nipperdey.* retinuit *B.* **5,** 1 contubernio adsumeret *Cornelissen.* 2 licenter egit *Heraeus.* nec *B*, *ut fere semper.* iustitiam *B.*

provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi
optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare simulque et anxius et intentus agere.
Non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo 3
Britannia fuit. Trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae,
intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria
certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alte- 4
rius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

His happy marriage. Quaestor in Asia. Birth of a daughter. Praetor. Member of a committee to recover the gold squandered by Nero.

6. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digres- 1
sus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam,
sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti
decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per 2
mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo; nisi
quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala
plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, 3
pro consule Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam

5, 3 excitatior *Buchner*, erectior *Vielhaber*. incensa colonia *Lipsius*. intersepti *em. Puteolanus*. 6, 1 digressus *A corr. 1 m. ex* degressus. 2 appetendo *B*, *Cornelissen*. 3 felicitate *B*.

dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum
4 brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et
5 silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

Death of his mother. Espouses the cause of Vespasian, and is appointed to the command of the twentieth legion in Britain.

1 **7.** Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius adflixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae
2 causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna

---

6, 4 quietis *B.* transit *A.* tenor *Rhenanus*, certior (otium, languor, torpor *alii*). 5 medio rationis (luxuriae *B*) *AB*, media rat. *Hofman-Peerlkamp*, modo r. *Puteolanus*, moderationis *Lipsius*. effecit *Heinsius*, fecit. 7, 1 Intimilium *Mommsen C. I. L. V*, 2, *p. 900*, in templo, Intemelium *Ursinus*, Intemelios *Lipsius*. 2 deprehensus est *B*.

tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad dilectus 3
agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum,
vicesimae legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressae,
praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur;
quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formido-
losa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens,
incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul 4
et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri
invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

He acquits himself with modesty and credit under Bolanus and Cerialis, and is trusted with responsible duties.

8. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placi- 1
dius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit
Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incre-
sceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis mi-
scere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium 2
Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exem-
plorum. Sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina,
mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus
in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu
praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis 3
exsultavit; ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortu-
nam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia
in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

7, 3 transgressae, in Britannia praeposuit *Ritter*. Sub decessore *Madvig*, ubi . . . narrabatur *Wex*, quae seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe . . . erat, nec decessor ad cohibendum *Urlichs*. consularis vis nimia *Madvig*. 8, 1 esset *Acidalius*. nimis incresceret *Prammer*, insolesceret *Cornelissen*. obsequii *Ritter*. 3 in exsequendo *Ped. Voss*.

Raised to the patrician rank by Vespasian, and made governor of Aquitania. His wise conduct of affairs. Appointed governor of Britain.

1 **9.** Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespa-
sianus inter patricios adscivit, ac deinde provinciae
Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis
administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat.
2 Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem
deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura et obtusior
ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat.
Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos,
3 facile iusteque agebat. Iam vero tempora curarum
remissionumque divisa; ubi conventus ac iudicia po-
scerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius miseri-
cors; ubi officio satis factum, nulla ultra potestatis
4 persona. Tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam
exuerat, nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas
auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Inte-
gritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre
5 iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe
etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem
quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas,
procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere
6 inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus tri-
ennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem
consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britan-
niam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus.

9, 1 dignitate administrationis *Rigler*. 2 adesse *B.* 3 temporis et curarum *B.* nullam . . . personam, *em. Rhenanus*. nihil ultra; potestatis personam exuerat *Urlichs*, nulla ultra tristitia; potestatis personam exuerat *Eussner*. 4 facultas *B.* diminuit, *em. Lipsius*. 5 etiam saepe *B.* ostentandam *em. Rhenanus* (ostentando virtutem *Bosius*).

sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama; ali
quando et elegit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam 7
iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit,
et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontifica-
tus sacerdotio.

Britain: its boundaries and shape. Voyage of the Roman fleet. Character of the ocean.

10. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptori- 1
bus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive
referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; ita quae
priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum
fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana 2
notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orien-
tem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur,
Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur. Septentrionalia
eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pul-
santur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, 3
Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores
oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est
ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universam fama
est transgressa; sed inmensum et enorme spatium
procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in
cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc 4
primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Bri-
tanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus

9, 6 aut semper erat *B.* eligit *Rhenanus.* 7 egregiae *Puteolanus*, gręcię *A*, grate *B.* iam tum *Ritter*, iam *Rhenanus.* et post *B.* **10**, 1 tunc *Wex.* 3 scupulae *B.* adsimilauere *B*, assimilauere *A.* in *om. A.* universam *Schele*, uninersum. transgressa *Rhenanus*, transgressis (unde et in universum fama est. Sed transgressis *Döderlein*).

5 insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum, et hiems adpetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli; credo, quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius
6 impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

Inhabitants of Britain. Conjectures as to their origin. Probably from Gaul.

1 **11.** Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii atque ex eo
2 argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque
3 sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insu-
4 lam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehen-

10, 5 Thule *Ernesti*, Thyle *A*, Tyle *B*. sed omissa quia *Urlichs*. sed hiems appetebat et mare *B*. perinde *Grotius*, proinde. 6 dominari *Puteolanus et margo A*, damnari. **11,** 2 arcus germanam *B*. 3 vi *Rhenanus*, usu.

das, superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et,
ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus 5
tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

Military customs. Tribal feuds prevent coalitions. Climate, products of soil, metals, and pearl fisheries.

12. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru 1
proeliantur; honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur; nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune
non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus 2
ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus; ita
singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Caelum crebris 3
imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque
initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si 4
nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant.

11, 4 persuasiones *amicus Walchii*, persuasionem *Ritter*, pari superstitionum persuasione *Heraeus*. detractandis ea formido *B*. **12**, 1 in equite robor *olim Urlichs, item Nipperdey*. distrahuntur *Heinsius*, trahuntur. 2 tribusque *A*. consensus *Lipsius*. ita dum singuli *Puteolanus*. 3 caelum *usque ad finem cap. 12 Reifferscheid et alii inter extremum cap. 10 et initium cap. 11 transponunt*. 4 nec exurgere *B*.

Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum, humili umbra, non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit.
5 Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum; tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium vic-
6 toriae. Gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi; ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

Sketch of the Roman conquest of Britain, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the more complete subjugation by Claudius.

1 **13.** Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint; has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut
2 serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit,
3 potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium
4 id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis con-

---

12, 5 pomorum patiens, frugum f. *Ritter.* cito proveniunt, tarde mitescunt *Peerlkamp.* 6 suffusa ac liuenta *B.* **13**, 1 subeunt *Nipperdey.* 3 praeceptum *A margo*, praeceptum . . . l. (*i.e.* lege) *B*, precipue *A*.

stat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes
adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus 5
Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus
auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespa-
siano; quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit.
Domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis
Vespasianus.

A provincial government established. Insurrection of the Britons while Suetonius is in the island Mona.

14. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus 1
ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius;
redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima
pars Britanniae. Addita insuper veteranorum colonia.
Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad no- 2
stram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac
iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut
haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius 3
Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum
castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti
officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque
intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus 4
biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus fir-
matisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam,
ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, adgressus terga occa-
sioni patefecit.

13, 4 ingenii mobilis penitentiae *B*, ingenio, mobilis paenitentia *Puteolanus*. 5 auctor iterati *Wex*, auctoritate. Domitae gentes *Puteolanus*, Domitiae gentis. **14,** 2 Cogidunno *B*. vetere . . . ut haberet *Rhenanus*, ut uetere . . . haberet. 4 Nomam *B*, *item 18, 5*.

Complaints of the Britons against Roman misrule.

1 **15**. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni
agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et
interpretando accendere. Nihil profici patientia, nisi
ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperen-
2 tur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos im-
poni, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in
bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque
concordiam subiectis exitiosam. Alterius manum cen-
turiones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere.
3 Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In
proelio fortiorem esse, qui spoliet; nunc ab ignavis
plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos,
iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria
nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si
4 sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse
iugum, et flumine, non Oceano defendi; sibi patriam,
coniuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas
5 belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset,
modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. Neve
proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent; plus
impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse.
6 Iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum
ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exerci-
tum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit,
deliberare. Porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius
esse deprehendi quam audere.

15, 1 sapientia *B.* imperantur *B.* 2 manus *A corr.* (*aliis* manum, *aliis* servos *delendum videtur*). centurionis, *em. Rhenanus.* 3 diripi *Heinsius.* 4 integris *post* impetus *supplevit Acidalius*, illis *Peerlkamp*, *cf. infra 31, 5.*

Under Boudicca the Britons storm the colony, but are defeated by Suetonius. The two following governors are inefficient.

16. His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca 1
generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in impe-
riis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos
per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis,
ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis; nec
ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victo-
ria. Quod nisi Paulinus, cognito provinciae motu, pro- 2
pere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius
proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus
arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius
ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera
adroganter in deditos et, ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor,
durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilia- 3
nus tamquam exorabilior; et delictis hostium novus
eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil
ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit.
Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, 4
comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere
iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et
interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segni-
tiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum 5
adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Tre-
bellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus
atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti,
exercitus licentiam, dux salutem; et seditio sine

16, 1 Boudicca *Haase*, Voadicca *A*, Voaduca *B*. ut in barb. *Peerlkamp*. 2 tenentibus tamen *Ritter*, etsi tenentibus *Nipperdey*. plerique *B*. proprius *Rhenanus*. nequaquam. cuiusque *Wex*, eiusque. 3 nouis *B*. ausis *B*. 4 seuitiae acusationem *B*. 5 praefuit *A*, fuit *B*. pacti essent *Ritter*. esset (*vel* essent) *Halm*.

6 sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus
adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina;
eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castro-
rum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis
invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

Under Vespasian a vigorous policy is resumed.

1 **17.** Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Bri-
tanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus,
minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit
Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numero-
2 sissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. Multa
proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Bri-
gantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello.
3 Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famam-
que obruisset; sustinuit[que] molem Iulius Frontinus,
vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem
Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium
locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

Agricola takes command. Defeat of the Ordovices. Attack on the island Mona. Terror and submission of the Britons.

1 **18.** Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices
media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum
et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et
2 hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas

16, 6 fatigavit (*vel* castigavit) *Madvig*. **17**, 1 perhiberet *B*. 3 *post* obruisset *Nipperdey cum aliis lacunam statuit sic fere explendam:* nisi in medio rerum prosperarum cursu invidia revocatus esset. sustinuit *Vielhaber*, sustinuit utique *Schoemann*. locorumque *B*. **18**. 1 uterentur (*pro* ūterentur) *A*.

haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis
agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio
erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus erat,
probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri,
cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per 3
provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius
anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohaturo, et
plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire ob-
viam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexil- 4
lis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi
Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris
par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Cae- 5
saque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum
famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore,
Monam insulam, cuius possessione revocatum Pauli-
num rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi,
redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in 6
dubiis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia
ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissi-
mos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi
usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita
repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem,
qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut
invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita 7
petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi
Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod
tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum
transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agri- 8

18, 3 transacta *Rhenanus, at cf. H. 2, 76, 18.* 5 a cujus *Bipontini.* 6 subitis *Jo. Fr. Gronovius*, dubiis. tranuex̄ *A*, tranare extra *B*. 7 potita *B*.

cola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est; sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

His wise administration of the province. Reform of various abuses.

1 **19.** Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque
doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si
iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere.
2 A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coërcuit, quod
plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam
3 regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei; non
studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus cen-
turionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidis-
simum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis
peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec
poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse;
officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos
praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti
4 et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mol-
lire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo
5 gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium adsidere
clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac † ludere
pretio cogebantur; devortia itinerum et longinquitas

18, 8 usus *AB*, versus *Cornelissen*. ne *A*, nec *B*. **19**, 1 excindere *Aldus*. 2 primam *A*. 3 liberos, *em. Puteolanus*. militesve ascire *Wex*, milites nescire. accomodare *Ritter*. 4 auctionem *A*, *sed corr. in marg.* inaequalitate, *em. Puteolanus*. circumcisisque quae *Henrichsen*. 5 ac luere *Wex*, auctiore pretio *Urlichs*. divortia, *em. Lipsius*. indicebantur *Ruperti*. *pro* proximis *Halm*.

regionum indicebatur, ut civitates, proximis hibernis, in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.

Introduces the blessing of peace. New campaigns and conquests. Forts and garrisons established.

20. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam 1
famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur.
Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in 2
agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare.
Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex 3
aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* inlacessita transierit.

Roman arts and civilization introduced by Agricola among the Britons.

21. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. 1
Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos

---

20, 2 popularēt *B.* irritamenta *em. Acidalius et Lipsius.* 3 tanta *Rhenanus*, et tanta. pariter *add. Weissenborn*, perinde *Ritter* (pars. Illacessita transiit sequens hiems *Susius*). 21, 1 adsumpta *em. Rhenanus.* bella *Bosius, Halm*, bello (bellum *Rhenanus*).

exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes.
2 Ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Iam vero
principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia
Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo
linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupi-
3 scerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens
toga, paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum,
porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque
apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servi-
tutis esset.

Conquests pushed as far as the Tanaus, and forts built. Agricola's skill in selecting and securing his positions. His generosity and kindness.

1 **22.** Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis ape-
ruit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est)
nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam
conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere
non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit.
2 Adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates
locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola posi-
tum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione
ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones; nam adversus
3 moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intre-
pida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hosti-
bus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna
aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque

21, 3 descensum *Pichena*, *Halm*, discessum. delinimenta *A*, deliniamenta *B*. balneas *B*, balineas *Ritter*. 22, 1 gentes *A*. Tavum *Glück*, Tavam *Nipperdey*. regionibus *Hulleman*. 2 aut fuga *B*. crebrae eruptiones *post* hiems *Halm*.

hieme iuxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per 4
alios gesta avidus intercepit; seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut erat comis bonis,
ita adversus malos iniucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia 5
nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

The conquered territory made secure. A line of forts built from Clota to Bodotria.

23. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat in- 1
sumpta; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus.
Namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per 2
inmensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur; quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

Troops massed on the western coast opposite Ireland. Description of Ireland.

24. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima trans- 1
gressus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis
quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter 2
Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis

---

22, 4 auidius *B.* conuiuiis A^1*B.* et erat ut *Henrichsen*, *Halm*, ut erat. 23, 1 percurrerat *B.* gloria *om. B.* 24, 1 navi in proxima *Rigler et Wex*, in Clotae proxima *Nipperdey*, vere primo *Becker*.

3 in vicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium eius, si Britan-
niae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas supe-
rat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum
4 haud multum a Britannia differt in melius; aditus
portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.
Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regu-
lis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem
5 retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis
auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque
etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana
ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

An expedition to the north of Bodotria with land and sea forces. The Caledonians unite and rise to repel Agricola.

1 **25.** Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum inco-
habat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia
motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis
exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit;
quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium
2 sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari
bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes
equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua
quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silva-
rum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluc-
tuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus
3 militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque,
ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat,
tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis per-

24, 3 differunt *Rhenanus*, differt. differunt: *interiora parum*, melius etc. *Halm*. 25, 1 hostibus *Becker*, *Halm*, hostilis (hostili exercitu *Rhenanus*). timebant *em. Puteolanus* (timebat *Ritter*). species *Mützell*. 2 impellitur *em. Rhenanus*.

fugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Cale- 4
doniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, maiore fama,
uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti,
metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque
citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pelleren-
tur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum inte- 5
rim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus irrupturos.
Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumire-
tur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu incessit.

The ninth legion attacked by the Caledonians, who are completely routed by Agricola.

26. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consi- 1
lio universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam
nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis
vigilibus irrupere. Iamque in ipsis castris pugnaba- 2
tur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus
edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum
peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox
ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere
signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis 3
rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant.
Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis porta-
rum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque
exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse
auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugi-
entes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

25, 4 oppugnasse *em. Rhenanus.* 5 circumirentur *Lipsius.* **26**, 3 rediit *Wex*, redit. de salute pro gloria *Acidalius.* ut tulisse *Puteolanus*, intulisse. rexissent *B.*

The Roman army, encouraged, is eager for new conquests. The Britons rally their forces.

1 **27.** Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil
virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inve-
niendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo
2 proeliorum cursu fremebant; atque illi modo cauti ac
sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant.
Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est; prospera
3 omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At
Britanni non virtute *se*, sed occasione et arte ducis
victos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus
iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta
transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civi-
tatum sancirent. Atque ita irritatis utrimque animis
discessum.

Strange adventures of a cohort of Usipii who deserted the Roman army.

1 **28.** Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias
conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac
2 memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac
militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti
manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris
liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere;
et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis,
nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur.

27, 1 penetrandum *B*, penetrandum in *Dronke*. praelium *em. Rhenanus*. 3 se *add. Brotier post* ducis. victos *add. Brotier*, elusos *Walch*. ciuitatium *B*, *item 29, 3*. 28, 2 inmixtis *em. Puteolanus*. 2 renavigante *Mützell*, *Halm*, morigerante *Wex*, refugiente *Andresen*.

Mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum 3
plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio con-
gressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extre-
mum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox
sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Bri- 4
tanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro
praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis
intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia venum-
datos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium
adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

Death of the son of Agricola. He seeks relief in war. Advances to the Mons Graupius, where the Caledonians had assembled their forces.

29. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, 1
anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque
ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per
lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in
luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa 2
classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incer-
tum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britan-
nis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad
montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis insede-
rat. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, 3
et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque
docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum,
legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires
exciverant. Iamque super triginta milia armatorum 4

28, 3 aquandum *Halm*, aquam. Atque ut illa (utilia *vel* utensilia *Selling*) raptis secum plerisque *AB*. 4 iudicium *B*. **29,** 2 Graupiam A^1, Grampium *Puteolanus*. 3 ciuitatium *B*. 4 XXX, LXXX *Nipperdey*, CXXX *Urlichs*.

aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

Address of Calgacus to his troops. He emphasizes the present emergency: the hopelessness of escape from the Roman greed for conquest, the certainty of success if they stand united against the Roman marauders, whose forces are held together by nothing but fear and terror.

1 **30.** 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram
intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem
consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britan-
2 niae fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes et
nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum immi-
nente nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma,
quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima
3 sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia
fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris
manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae
eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora
aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis
4 inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis
extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem
defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est.
Sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra
gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani,

30, 1 consensusque *B*. 4 atque . . . sed *AB post* patet *habent*; *verba transposuerunt Brueys aliique*, [atque . . . sed] *Muretus*.

quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac mode-
stiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta 5
vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur;
si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi,
quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit. Soli
omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupi-
scunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus 6
imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem ap-
pellant.'

31. 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura 1
carissimos esse voluit. Hi per dilectus alibi servituri
auferuntur: coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem
libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum
polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque 2
annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac
paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias
conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt,
atque ultro a dominis aluntur; Britannia servitutem
suam cottidie emit, cottidie pascit. Ac sicut in fami- 3
lia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis
ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu
novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim
arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exer-
cendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subiecto- 4
rum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum
ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae
tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus
gloria carissima est. Brigantes, femina duce, exurere 5

30, 5 terrae iam *Halm*, terram (terrae *Rhenanus*). **31**, 2 ager atque *F. Jacob*, aggerat (ager et *R. Seyffert*). conterunt *em. Jacob et Fröhlich*, conferuntur *Cornelissen*. 4 clarissima *B*.

coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere; nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in patientiam bellaturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'

32. 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam
in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissen-
sionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam
2 exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissi-
mis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dis-
solvent; nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu)
Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae san-
guinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam ser-
3 vos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror
est, infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui
timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae
incitamenta pro nobis sunt; nullae Romanos coniuges
accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt;
4 aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos nu-
mero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et
silvas, ignota omnia circum spectantes, clausos quo-
dam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat
vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod
5 neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie
inveniemus nostras manus; adgnoscent Britanni
suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem liberta-
tem, deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper
6 Usipi reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis;

31, 5 et expugnare *B.* in patientiam bellaturi *Wölfflin*, arma laturi *Wex*, in poenitentiam laturi. 32, 2 contactum *B.* commodent *Puteolanus*, commendent. 3 sunt *Beroaldus*, *Halm*, est. 4 circum trepidos *AB.* 5 Usipii *B.*

vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et
iniuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia.
Hic dux, hic exercitus; ibi tributa et metalla et cete- 7
rae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre
aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in
aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

Speech of Agricola to his soldiers. He speaks of their former successes, and their desperate condition if not now victorious. They have only a pack of fugitives to overcome, and they should crown the labor of half a century with a glorious victory.

33. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, 1
cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque
agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque
procursu; simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola
quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coërcitum mili-
tem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: 'octavus 2
annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis
imperii Romani, fide atque opera vestra Britanniam
vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitu-
dine adversus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene
adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me
militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego 3
veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos,
finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et
armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia et subacta. Equi- 4
dem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et

32, 6 senium *B.* 7 illic *Kritz.* **33,** 1 et ut *Walther*, atque ut *Ritter.* munimentis *B et margo A*, monitis *A.* 2 septimus *Acidalius, Halm.* virtute vestra *Nipperdey, Halm.* opera vestra *Puteolanus.* ũra *B.* 4 montesque *Urlichs.*

flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audie-
5 bam: 'quando dabitur hostis, quando acies?' Veni-
unt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto,
omniaque prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa.
6 Nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse,
transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem,
ita fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosper-
7 rima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem
notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus
et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, iam
pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis
8 terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita
potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt;
nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine
cecidisse.'

1 **34.** 'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset,
aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer; nunc ve-
stra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi
sunt, quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis
adgressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britanno-
2 rum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites. Quo
modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quod-
que animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis
sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pri-
dem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et
3 metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non resti-
terunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et ex-

33, 4 vocem *Beroaldus*. acies *Rhenanus*, animus. 8 et honesta . . . potior *posuit Nipperdey post* sita sunt, *deleto* et *ante* incolumitas. 34, 1 ceterorum *posuit Bährens post* ideoque. 2 ruēre *legendum esse monuit Spengel*, ruebat *Andresen*, ruerat *Urlichs*. pelli solent *Wex*. 3 torpor *Ritter*, novissimae res extremo metu corpora defixere (*om.* aciem) *Wex*.

tremo metu torpor defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in
quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis.
Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta 4
annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam
exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas
rebellandi.'

The zeal of the Romans, and the order of battle on both sides. Agricola dismounts.

35. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor 1
eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas conse-
cuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos
ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo
milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria
milia cornibus adfunderentur. Legiones pro vallo ste- 2
tere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem
bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum
acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis
constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per
adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi
covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat.
Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, 3
ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur,
diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura
erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant,
promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo
pedes ante vexilla constitit.

34, 4 imputare *em. Puteolanus*. 35, 1 milia *Puteolanus*. 2 victori *Peerlkamp*. bellanti *Rhenanus, Halm*. pelleretur *Gesner*. agmen in aequo *Bekker*, agmine quo. connexi *Puteolanus*, conuexi *AB*. couinarius *B*, conuinnarius *A*. et eques *Rhenanus*. 3 latera *A*, altera *B*.

Desperate courage of the Britons. The German auxiliaries drive the Britons before them.

1 **36.** Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes
2 gladios gerentibus. Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione
3 victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae, *ut* fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere, et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impel-
4 lerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

36, 1 cohortes tres *Ulrichs*, quinque *Ritter*. 2 arto *Fr. Medicis*, aperto. tolerant *Muretus*. fodere *Gesner*, foedare. stratis *Ernesti*, tratis. 3 ut *add. Döderlein*. recentes *B*. aequa nostris iam *Anquetil*, equestres ea enim (equestris ei *Andresen*). aegre clivo instantes *Schömann partim cum aliis*, egra diu aut stante. impedirentur *B. Schulz*, pellerentur *Eussner*.

Terrible scenes on the battle-field. Fruitless valor of the Britons. Their great loss. Despair of the Britons after the battle. Scenes of desolation. Expedition of the Roman fleet.

37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa 1
collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui
spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vin-
centium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quat-
tuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus
opposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcucurrerant, tanto
acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. Ita consilium Bri- 2
tannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto
ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem
invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox
spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem
oblatis aliis trucidare. Iam hostium, prout cuique 3
ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga
praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti
offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et
cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtus-
que. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, † item pri- 4
mos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari
circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola 5
validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi
artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul
rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum
aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum 6
ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in

37, 1 occurrerant *B*, accurrerant *Puteolanus*. 2 ablatis *em. Rhenanus*. 4 itē *AB*, idem *Draeger*, identidem *Kritz*, inde *Ritter*. gnari *Dronke*, ignari (ignaros *Puteolanus*, ignaros gnari *al.*). 5 perscrutari *Cornelissen*, *Halm*, persultari *A*, perlustrari *B*. 6 videre, rursus *Peerlkamp*.

fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium
respectantes, rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua at-
7 que avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit.
Caesa hostium ad decem milia; nostrorum trecenti se-
xaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus co-
hortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

1 **38**. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victori-
bus. Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque
ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere
2 domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras
et statim relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia [ali-
qua], dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pigno-
rum suorum, saepius concitari; satisque constabat
saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam
3 misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius
aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles,
fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius.
4 Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae
vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum
(et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat), in
5 fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis
obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam
praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror.
6 Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum
gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in
hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate
ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit, unde proximo
Britanniae litore lecto omni redierat.

37, 6 uersis *em. Puteolanus.* sed rari *ed. Bipontini.* 7 queis *B.*
38, 1 Britannique *em. Puteolanus.* [aliqua] *Classen.* 2 misererêt
B. 3 deserti *Ernesti*, *Halm*, secreti. 5 profecto *B.* 6 terrentur *B.*
trucculensem *A*, trutulens est *B.* anno *post* proximo *add. Madvig*,
Halm; litore *Pichena*, latere. reditura erat *Madvig*, *Halm*, redierat.

Effect on Domitian of the news of Agricola's successes. He hides his anger and jealousy for the time being.

39. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum 1
iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano
moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit.
Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e 2
Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quo-
rum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem forma-
rentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot
milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id
sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen 3
supra principis attolli; frustra studia fori et civilium
artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam
alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimu-
lari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus 4
curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium
erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia sta-
tuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor
exercitus languesceret; nam etiam tum Agricola Bri-
tanniam obtinebat.

Recall of Agricola. Domitian ready to offer a bribe. Cold reception of Agricola by Domitian. His simple manner of life at Rome.

40. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris sta- 1
tuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo
verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet
addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agri-

39, 1 auctum *Lipsius*, actum. ut Domitianus erat *B.* 3 principem *Nipperdey.* cetera *Wex*, *Halm*, et cetera. 4 quodue *B.* seponere *Cornelissen.* 40, 1 additque *Muretus.*

colae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consu-
2 laris et maioribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; cumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse; sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac
3 compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium in-
4 mixtus est. Ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

His growing popularity. The public demand that Agricola shall once more lead Roman armies to victory. This arouses the anger of Domitian.

1 **41.** Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum

---

40, 2 Britanniam. 3 praetemptum *B.* turbae *om. B.* 4 hausit *Wex*, *Halm*, auxit.

inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt rei 2
publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent; tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna 3
damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat 4
Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis 5
aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

Intrigues of the emperor to prevent Agricola from accepting a proconsulate. His discreet conduct disarms the emperor for a time.

42. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae 1
et Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Acces- 2
sere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam

---

41, 2 Moesia *Lipsius*, Misia. viri *AB*, vici *Jo. Fr. Gronovius.* possessionum *B*. 3 et *ante* const. *om. A*. [eorum] ceterorum *Grotius*, aliorum *ed. Bipontini*. eorum *AB*, *quibus exercitus committi solerent add. Halm.* 4 Domitianum *B*. 5 aliorum ipsa gloria *Madvig*. **42,** 1 Asiae et Aphricae *B*, Asiae aut (vel *Nipperdey*) Africae *Lipsius*.

suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non
iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere
3 ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in adrogan-
tiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum
adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit bene-
ficii invidia. Salarium tamen proconsulare solitum
offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum, Agricolae
non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex consci-
4 entia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium
humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris. Domitiani
vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo
inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agri-
colae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani
iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat.
5 Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam
sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequium-
que ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo
laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nul-
lum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

Death of Agricola under suspicious circumstances. Anxiety of the emperor. Will of Agricola.

1 **43.** Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis,
extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus
quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad
domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quis-
quam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut sta-

42, 3 proconsulare *Bletterius*, *Halm*, proconsuli consulari *Mommsen R. Staatsr. I, 284 ed. 2.* 5 escendere *Lipsius*, *Halm.* in nullum rei p. *Muretus*, in ullum rei post. 43, 1 et per circulos *B.* oblitus *Muretus*, oblitus est. 2 quod adf. *Acidalius*, ut *add. Wex ante* adf. nihil comperti adfirmare ausim *AB.*

tim oblitus. Augebat miserationem constans rumor 2
veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti, adfirmare
ut ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius cre- 3
brius quam ex more principatus, per nuntios visentis
et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive
cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die 4
momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nun-
tiata constabat, nullo credente sic adcelerari quae
tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris habitu vultu-
que prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissi-
mularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto 5
testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori
et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum
velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et corrupta mens 6
assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre
non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

Agricola's personal appearance. Consoling reflections over his death. He was happy in not living to see the later horrors of Domitian's reign. The grief of Tacitus and his wife at their absence from Agricola's death bed.

44. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium con- 1
sule Idibus Iuniis; excessit quarto et quinquagesimo
anno, decumo Kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque
consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius posteri 2
noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil
metus in voltu; gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum
facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, 3

43, 3 principis *Muretus.* uiseritis *B.* 4 constabant *em. Rhenanus.* habitu *Ernesti*, animo. **44,** 1 tertium *Ursinus*, ter. quarto *Petavius*, quinto *Nipperdey*, tertio *Ritter*, sexto *Halm.* 2 metus *margo A*, impetus *A*, metus et impetus *B*.

quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus,
quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit;
quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, im-
pleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis
4 praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opi-
bus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae contigerant. Filia
atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus
incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus
5 et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam sicut ei *non licuit*
durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem
Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras
auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande sola-
cium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo
Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta
temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publi-
cam exhausit.

1 **45**. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum
armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes,
2 tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. Vna
adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Alba-
nam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa
Baebius [iam] tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere
Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rustici-
que visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit.
3 Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera,
non spectavit; praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum
pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra sub-

44, 3 sunt *om.* *B*. 4 speciosae non contigerant *em. Rhenanus*. 5 sicut ei non licuit *Dahl*, sicuti. in hac . . . luce *em. Acidalius*. **45**, 1 clusum *A*. 2 Carus Metius *Rhenanus*, charus (clarus *B*). iam *om. B*, etiam tum *J. Fr. Gronovius*. Mauricium Rusticumq. diuisimus *margo A*. visus horrore *Henrichsen*.

scriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus
sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra
pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, 4
sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Vt perhibent qui
interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et
libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione
innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque 5
eius, praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget mae-
stitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem,
satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus 6
certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figere-
mus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam
longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amis-
sus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente 7
amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo; paucioribus
tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce
desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

Concluding reflections on immortality and true filial devotion, with a prophecy of Agricola's undying fame.

46. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus 1
placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae,
placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desi-
derio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem vir-
tutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi

45, 3 pallore oribus *Wex.* 4 perhiberent *em. Puteolanus.* 5 eius *AB*, tuae *Cornelissen.* 6 excepissem *em. Pichena.* nobis *om. B.* longa A^1, nostrae *B.* triennium *Urlichs.* amissus es *Rhenanus.* 7 compositus es *margo A.* 46, 1 mulieribus *B.*

2 fas est. Admiratione te potius et immortalibus laudi-
bus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine decoremus.
3 Is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas.
Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic
mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque
eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi
4 magis quam corporis complectantur; non quia inter-
cedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere
finguntur; sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vul-
tus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna,
quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam
5 et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex
Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet
mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate
6 temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum velut
inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit; Agricola posteri-
tati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

46, 2 aemulatione *Cornelissen*. et (te *Lipsius*) immortalibus *Acidalius*, *Halm*, temporalibus. similitudine *Grotius*, militum *A*, multum *B*. colamus *Muretus*, *Halm*, decoramus (decoremus *Ursinus*). 3 formamque *Muretus*, famamque. 4 interdicendum *Ursinus*. imbecillia *B*. 5 admirati *Wölfflin*. 6 obruet *em. Haupt*.

ACIT



iiis 1
que
nus
om-
egi-
ium 2
ı in
tur.
bae 3
cum
ıbus

aticanus
y initial

INE ET
, COR-
PVLIS
heid, de

Abnobae

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS



CORNELII TACITI
DE GERMANIA
LIBER

Boundaries of Germany.

1. Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis 1
Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque
mutuo metu aut montibus separatur; cetera Oceanus
ambit, latos sinus et insularum inmensa spatia com-
plectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regi-
bus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium 2
inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in
occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur.
Danuvius molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae 3
iugo effusus pluris populos adit, donec in Ponticum
mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus
hauritur.

B = codex Vaticanus 1862. *b* = Leidensis. *C* = Vaticanus 1518. *c* = Neapolitanus. The readings not followed by any initial are found in all or most of the Mss.

CORNELII (C. CORNELII *Cc*) TACITI DE ORIGINE ET SITV GERMANORVM (GERMANIAE *c*) LIBER *BCc*, CORNELII TACITI DE ORIGINE. SITV. MORIBVS. AC. POPVLIS GERMANORVM LIBER *b*, de situ Germaniae *Reifferscheid*, de situ ac populis Germaniae *Wölfflin*.

1. 1 Raetisque *Cellarius*, retiisque (rae-, rhe-). 3 Abnobae *Rhenanus*, arnobae *vel* arbonae.

Reasons for believing the Germans indigenous. Origin of the name.

1 **2.** Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et inmensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur.
2 Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

3 Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Hermi-
4 nones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos Gambrivios Suebos Vandilios adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint
5 ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.

2, 2 si *om. b.* 3 Tuistonem *C*, tristonem *Bb*, Teutonem *Perizonius*. conditoresque *Rhenanus*, conditorisque *Bb*, conditoris *C*. Istuaenes *Müllenhoff*, Iscaevones *J. Grimm*. 4 de eo *al.:* ganbriuios *C*, gabrinios *b*[1]. sueuos *BC*. uandalios *b*. 5 nomen in nomen gentis *Acidalius*, nomen in gentis *alii*. a victo *J. Grimm*.

Legends of Hercules and Ulysses. Battle songs. Their influence.

3. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, pri- 1
mumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia
canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum
relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos
futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur.
Terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec 2
tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. Ad-
fectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur,
obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox reper-
cussu intumescat. Ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinan- 3
tur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum
delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque,
quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo
constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi 4
consecratam, adiecto Laërtae patris nomine, eodem
loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quos-
dam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae
Raetiaeque adhuc extare. Quae neque confirmare 5
argumentis neque refellere in animo est; ex ingenio
suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

The Germans an unmixed people. Physical characteristics.

4. Ipse eorum opinioni accedo, qui Germaniae popu- 1
los nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos
propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem

3, 1 baritum *al.* 2 vocis . . . ille videtur *Rhenanus*, uoces ille (illae) uidentur. 3 hunc) illum *Herm. Schütz.* incolatur *al.* nominatumque ασκιπυργιον *B.* 4, 1 opinioni *C*, opinionibus. aliis *del. Lipsius et om. Meginhardus.*

2 extitisse arbitrantur. Vnde habitus quoque corporum,
quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus;
truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora
et tantum ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum
3 non eadem patientia; minimeque sitim aestumque
tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

Soil and climate. Sources of wealth. Metals, coins.

1 **5**. Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum
tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umidior
qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam
aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens,
2 pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis; numero
gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito.
3 Nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam
argentum aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est?
4 Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est
videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus
eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae
5 humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscunt atque
eligunt; interiores simplicius et antiquius permutati-
6 one mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et
diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque
magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi,

4, 2 tamquam *C*: 3 assueuerunt *C*, assuerunt *Bb*. 5, 1 patiens *Tross.* pleraque *Lipsius*. 2 propitii *C*. 4 proinde *C*. alia utilitate *al*. 6 affectione *C*, affectatione *Bb*.

sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

Military equipment. Order of battle. Infamy of cowardice.

6. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telo- 1
rum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis
utuntur: hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt
angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili,
ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel comminus vel
eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque 2
contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque
singuli, atque in immensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo
leves. Nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis
coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive 3
cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate con-
spicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum
docentur; in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita
coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In universum 4
aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti
proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam
velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos
ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus; centeni ex 5
singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur,
et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est.
Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo
rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur.
Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. 6

6, 2 plura *al.* in *om. Bb.* 3 galea *Rhenanus*, galeae (galea est *Mützell*). uarietate *b.* dextros vel sinistros *Ad. Michaelis.* cuncto *B*, concto *C*, iuncto *Baehrens.* 4 dilectos *B.* 5 quod *corr. b*, quidem *Bb*, qui *Ritter.*

Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

Power of kings, generals, and priests. The clan system in battle.

1 **7.** Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.
Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces ex-
emplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui,
2 si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum
neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare qui-
dem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam
nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse
3 bellantibus credunt. Effigiesque et signa quaedam
detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praeci-
puum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec
fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed
familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora,
unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infan-
4 tium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi lauda-
tores; ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec
illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et
hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

Influence and sacred character of women.

1 **8.** Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine

---

7, 1 agunt *C.* 3 ululatus foeminarum *C.* audiri *del. Ritter*, auditur *Kritz*, audiunt *Madvig*, audias (*vel* unde est . . . audire) *Wölfflin*, est audire *Schütz*.

timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum 2
putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano 3
Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

The gods and mode of worship. No images of gods. Their temples are groves.

9. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis 1
diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat. Vnde causa et origo 2
peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos 3
neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur; lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

Modes of divination,—from the lot, birds, horses, and single combat.

10. Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant: 1
sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam

---

8, 1 nubiles imperentur *b*. 2 veledam *B*, Valedam *C*, Velaedam *Ritter*, *Halm*. 3 Albrunam *W. Wackernagel*, auriniam *BbC*, Albriniam *B margo*. 9, 1 Herculem ac Martem *Cc*, martem . . . placant et herculem *Bb*. 10, 1 est simplex *C*.

discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito
2 spargunt. Mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civi-
tatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus deos
caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos se-
3 cundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si pro-
hibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consul-
tatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur.
Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces vola-
tusque interrogare; proprium gentis equorum quoque
4 praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur isdem
nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere
contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex
vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fre-
5 mitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non
solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdo-
tes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant.
Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bello-
6 rum eventus explorant. Eius gentis, cum qua bellum
est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo
popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, commit-
tunt; victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio acci-
pitur.

Assemblies and deliberations of the people. Reckoning of time. Influence of the priests and orators.

1 **11.** De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de
maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum

10, 2 consultetur *Halm*, consuletur. 3 equorumque p. *C*. 5 sed etiam apud proceres habebatur *Meginhard*. sacerdotes enim ministros *Wölfflin*, *Halm*, apud sacerdotes se enim ministros *libri interpolati*. istos *Bb*. explorant *C*, explorantur b^1, exploratur Bb^2.

penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes praetrac-
tentur. Coëunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, 2
certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur;
nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium cre-
dunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium com-
putant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere 3
diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non
simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius
dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. Vt turba
placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes,
quibus tum et coërcendi ius est, imperatur. Mox rex 4
vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout
decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, aucto-
ritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. Si 5
displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit,
frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum adsensus genus
est armis laudare.

Judicial powers of the council. Methods of punishment. Commutation. Magistrates.

12. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discri- 1
men capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto.
Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos
et imbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta
insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc re- 2
spicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puni-
untur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis
pro modo poena; equorum pecorumque numero con-
victi multantur. Pars multae regi vel civitati, pars 3

11, 1 praetractentur *c et corr. C*, pertractentur *reliqui*. 3 turba *Jo. Fr. Gronovius*, turbae. 12. 1 consilium *C*. 2 poena *Acidalius*, poenarum. mulctantur *BC*.

ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. Eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

Introduction of the youth to the rights of a citizen and soldier. The retinue of the chief.

1 **13.** Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit.
2 Tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant. Haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc
3 domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant; ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter
4 comites adspici. Gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, iudicio eius quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi
5 comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

12, 3 uindicauit *Bb.* reddant *Ernesti.* **13,** 2 propinqui *Bb*, propinquus *Cc.* 3 dignitatem *Bb.* ceteri *Lipsius*, *Halm.* rubori *Ernesti.* 4 quibus] cui *Acidalius.* 5 haec uires C^1b.

Loyalty of the retinue. Zeal for war. Presents and wages. Dislike of agriculture.

14. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute 1
vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adae-
quare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac pro-
brosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse.
Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae 2
eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Princi-
pes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si 3
civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat,
plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas
nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et
ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clare-
scunt magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque
tueare; exigunt enim *a* principis sui liberalitate illum 4
bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque fra-
meam. Nam epulae et quamquam incompti, largi
tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Materia mu- 5
nificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram aut
exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare
hostem et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners
videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

Indolence in time of peace. Pleasure in receiving gifts.

15. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, 1
plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, for-
tissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, dele-
gata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis seni-
busque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebent, 2

14, 2 et tueri *Meiser*. eius *om. b*. 3 tuentur *Bb*. 4 a *add. Acidalius*. 15, 1 non (*ante* multum) *del. Lipsius*. 2 habent *Cb*.

mira diversitate naturae, cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitati-
3 bus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque; iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

No cities among Germans. Villages. Style of building. Underground storehouses and dwellings.

1 **16**. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut
2 nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis; suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis
3 remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus; materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac liniamenta colorum imi-
4 tetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemis et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eius modi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

15, 3 magnifica *Bährens*, insignia *Köchly*. **16**, 2 longant *B^1b*. 3 lineamenta *BC*. colorum *C*, locorum *Nipperdey*, corporum *Köchly* imitentur. *al et H. Schütz*. 4 hiemis *Reifferscheid*, heimi *libri*, *an* hieme? loci, *Acidalius*, *Halm*.

The dress of men and women.

17. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, 1
spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum
atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguun-
tur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta
et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum 2
pelles, proximi ripae neglegenter, ulteriores exquisi-
tius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt
feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibus-
que beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum
mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, 3
nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur
eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris
in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos;
sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

Marriage customs and their significance.

18. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam 1
morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli
barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis
admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem
plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, 2
sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et pro-
pinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias
muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur,
sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea
gladioque. In haec munera uxor accipitur, atque in 3
vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert; hoc maxi-
mum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos

17, 1 figula *b.* 2 gerunt *C et corr. b,* ferunt *Bb.* 2 vellera *Bährens.* 18, 1 pluribus *Halm,* plurimis.

4 arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram
5 ausuramque. Hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant; sic vivendum, sic pereundum; accipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

Chastity. Adultery and its punishment. In some tribes no second marriage allowed.

1 **19**. Ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae
2 ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa: abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit.
3 Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque
4 uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam mari-
5 tum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex adgnatis necare

18, 4 pereundum *b*, periendum *C*, pariendum *Bc* (sic nubendum, sic pariendum *Bährens*). reddant *C*. rursusquae *C*. **19**, 1 saeptae *al.* 2 adcisis *vel* accisis *libri plerique*. 3 inuenit *C*. 4 ne tam maritum quam matrimonium *Meiser*.

flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

Training of the children. Relation between nephew and the uncle on the mother's side. Inheritance, which was in the male line.

20. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in 1
haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quem-
que mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus
delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis 2
deliciis dignoscas ; inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo
degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat.
Sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec 3
virgines festinantur ; eadem iuventa, similis proceri-
tas ; pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum
liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum 4
qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artiorem-
que hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis
obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius
et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successores- 5
que sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi
non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, pa-
trui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quanto
maior adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus ;
nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

Duty of inheriting the feud. Homicide and its punishment. Hospitality. Presents.

21. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propin- 1
qui quam amicitias necesse est. Nec inplacabiles

20, 2 dinoscas *BC*. 4 apud patrem *b*, ad patrem *BC*. et in animum *libri fere omnes*, etiam animum *Ritter*, et animum *Halm*, *Prammer*, *et alii*. 5 quanto maior *Halm*, tanto *BC*, quo c. gratior *B supra lineam*.

durant; luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.

2 Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit.
3 Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Nec interest; pari humanitate accipiuntur.
4 Notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi in vicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. [Victus inter hospites comis.]

Bathing. Table customs. Riotous character of banquets. Settlement of various questions at banquets. Care in reaching a conclusion.

1 **22.** Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt; separatae sin-
2 gulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede
3 et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis in vicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsci-

---

21, 2 aliqua *Bb.* 4 poposcerunt *B*, poposceris b^1. comis *AB*, communis *Longolius*, vinclum inter hospites comitas *Lachmann.* 22, 3 sed de *C.*

scendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello ple-
rumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis
tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus
aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida 4
aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci. Ergo detecta
et nuda omnium mens, postera die retractatur, et salva
utriusque temporis ratio est; deliberant, dum fingere
nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

Food. Love of drink.

23. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quan- 1
dam similitudinem vini corruptus; proximi ripae et
vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices, agrestia poma,
recens fera aut lac concretum; sine apparatu, sine
blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non 2
eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati sugge-
rendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis
quam armis vincentur.

Sports: love of gambling. Loss of liberty under a false sense of honor.

24. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu 1
idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter
gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. Exer-
citatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum
tamen aut mercedem; quamvis audacis lasciviae pre-
tium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod mirere, 2
sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive
temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac

22, 4 adhuc *C*, ad hec *B*, adhec *b*. loci *Bb corr.* mens. Postera *sic distinxit Passow, Halm.* 24, 1 parat *C*. mercede *C*. 2 expectantium *BC*. defecerint *b*.

novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant.
3 Victus voluntariam servitutem adit; quamvis iuvenior,
quamvis robustior adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea
est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos
condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque
pudore victoriae exsolvant.

Slaves: their duties and punishments. Contempt for freedmen.

1 **25.** Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, discriptis
per familiam ministeriis, utuntur: suam quisque se-
2 dem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus
aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus
hactenus paret; cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi
3 exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere
coërcere rarum; occidere solent, non disciplina et
severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod
4 impune est. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt,
raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate,
5 exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. Ibi
enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt;
apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum
sunt.

Lending money on interest is unknown. Occupation and tilling of the soil. The seasons.

1 **26.** Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum;
ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. Agri
pro numero cultorum ab universis in vicem occupan-
tur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem pártiun-

25, 1 descriptis, *em. Reifferscheid.* ministris Bb^1. 5 sunt *om. C.* 26, 1 vitatur *Ritter.* uices *C*, in uices *B*, inuicem *b*.

tur. Facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. 2
Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec enim
cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt,
ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos
rigent; sola terrae seges imperatur. Vnde annum 3
quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species:
hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

Funeral customs. No labored monument. Mourning.

27. Funerum nulla ambitio; id solum observatur, 1
ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur.
Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant; sua
cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur. Sepul- 2
crum caespes erigit; monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine 3
ac moribus accepimus; nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

Testimony of Caesar. Gallic tribes in Germany. Doubtful origin of some tribes.

28. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus 1
auctorum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est

26, 2 praestant *BC*, praebent *b*. laborare b^1 *et margo B*. ut hortos *Bb*,[1] aut hortos *Nipperdey*. 27, 1 obseruant *b*. 3 quaeque *Halm*, quae. nationes e Galliis in Germaniam, e Germania *Nipperdey*. 28, 1 autor *Bb*.

2 etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum
enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens
evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas
3 adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur
inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum
amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens,
tenuere. Manet adhuc Boiohaemi nomen significatque
loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus.
4 Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum
natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint,
cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis
moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia
ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant.
5 Treveri et Nervii circa adfectationem Germanicae originis
ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam
sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur.
Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum
6 populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii
quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint
ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur,
origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento
fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut
arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

The Batavi: their origin and privileges. The tithe-lands and their occupants.

1 **29.** Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui
Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni

28, 3 igitur quantum agri porrigitur inter *Wölfflin.* hircyniam *Bb*[1]. utraque *om. b.* boihemi *vel* boiemi *plerique.* signatque *bc.* coli *Weidner.* 4 boiis *BbC*, osis *margo b.* quia *C*, qui *Bb*[1]. 5 Nervii *Rhenanus*, Neruli. germanae *b.* 6 e conditoris *Acidalius.* 29, 1 batáui *b*, batavii *BC*.

amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et sedi-
tione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus
pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae 2
societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur
nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collatio-
nibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut
tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem 3
obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magni-
tudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres
terminos imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in 4
sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera
similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo
et caelo acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quam- 5
quam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos
qui decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque 6
Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum
occupavere; mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis
sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

The Chatti: their physical characteristics and military skill.

30. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio 1
saltu incohant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut
ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit; durant
siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos
saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit.
Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et 2
maior animi vigor. Multum, ut inter Germanos,

29, 1 cattorum B^1b. 2 conteruntur *Ursinus*. 5 numerauerimus *C*. danubiumque *Bb*. 30, 1 incohatur *B*, *Halm*, incohant (inchoant) *plerique*. durans *b corr.*, paulatimque *Rhenanus*.

rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire
praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, dif-
ferre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, for-
tunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare,
quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae
concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu.
3 Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis
quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire
videas, Chattos ad bellum. Rari excursus et fortu-
4 ita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito
parare victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas iuxta formidi-
nem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

Customs of the Chatti. Their bloody vows. Professional warriors; their public support.

1 **31**. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et
privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum
vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque sub-
mittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obliga-
2 tumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et
spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia
nascendi rettulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus
ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. For-
tissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominio-
sum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede
3 hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habi-
tus, iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque
monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec

30, 2 diem *Bb*, aciem *Weidner*. Romanae] romane *b* (ratione *Sup. lin.*), romane *B*, ratione *C*. 3 raro *C*. 4 parere *Heraeus*. 31, 1 rara *B*[1]. 2 noscendi *plerique*. absoluerit *b*[1]. 3 plurimis *Bb*, ferocissimis *Nipperdey*.

prima semper acies, visu nova; nam ne in pace qui-
dem cultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut 4
ager aut aliqua cura; prout ad quemque venere,
aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec ex-
sanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

Usipi and Tencteri. Equestrian skill of the latter. Law of inheritance.

32. Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, 1
quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri
colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus
equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior
apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equi-
tum. Sic instituere maiores; posteri imitantur. 2
Hi lusus infantium, haec iuvenum aemulatio; per-
severant senes. Inter familiam et penates et iura
successionum equi traduntur; excipit filius, non ut
cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

The Bructeri and their destruction. The tribal feuds are a ground of hope and safety to Rome..

33. Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: 1
nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios inmigrasse narratur,
pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum con-
sensu nationum, seu superbiae odio seu praedae dul-
cedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne
spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. Super sexaginta 2
milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod magnifi-
centius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat,

31, 3 cultu *C*, vultu *Bb*. 32, 2 et bello melior *Muretus*. 33, 1 chamanos *b*. angrinarios b^1, anguiuarios *C*.

quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

The Frisii. Roman fleets in the German Ocean. Traditions of Hercules.

1 **34**. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubnii et
Chasuarii cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memo-
2 ratae, a fronte Frisii excipiunt. Maioribus minoribus-
que Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Vtraeque
nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur am-
biuntque inmensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus
3 navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa tempta-
vimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama
vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique
magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensi-
4 mus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico; sed ob-
stitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri.
Mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum
de actis deorum credere quam scire.

The Chauci, populous and powerful. They maintain their supremacy by fair dealing.

1 **35**. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus; in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium

---

33, 2 urgentibus iam *Bb*. **34**, 1 Dulgubnii, *J. Grimm*, dulgibini, dulgitubini *etc. libri*. occasuarii *C*. claudunt b^2. 3 tētauimus (tent . . .) *BbC*. magnificum *C*, magnu *B*. consueuimus *al*. 4 et Germanico *Freinsheim*, Druso, Neroni, Germanico *Gruber*. **35**, 1 recedit *Heraeus*, *Halm*. primum *Ritter*. caucorum *b*. Frisis *BbC*.

lateribus optenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur.
Tam inmensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum 2
Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobi-
lissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia
tueri. Sine cupididate, sine impotentia, quieti secre- 3
tique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latro-
ciniis populantur. Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium
argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per
iniurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma 4
ac, si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equo-
rumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

The Cherusci: their fatal policy of inaction.

36. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci 1
nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrie-
runt. Idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter
inpotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur,
modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui 2
olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti
vocantur; Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam
cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina
gens; adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in
secundis minores fuissent.

The Cimbri: their former home and power. First conflict with the Cimbri. Brief summary of wars with the Germans. Their invincible courage.

37. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano 1
Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens.

35, 2 suam *om. C.* malit *C*, malint b^1, maluit Bb^2. 4 exercitui *Heraeus*, (exercitus) *Halm.* 36, 1 potentes *Meiser.* nomina superiori *Heinsius*, nomine superioris *libri.* 2 tacti *plerique.* 37, 1 situm *b.*

Veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa
castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris
molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem.
2 Sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra
agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma,
Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus. Ex
quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum
computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colligun-
3 tur; tam diu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi
aevi spatio multa in vicem damna. Non Samnis, non
Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem
saepius admonuere; quippe regno Arsacis acrior est
Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis quam
caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium
4 deiectus Oriens obiecerit? At Germani Carbone et
Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione Gnaeo-
que Mallio fusis vel captis quinque simul consulares
exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legi-
ones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius
in Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et
5 Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox
ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae.
Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et
civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis
etiam Gallias adfectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi
proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi
sunt.

37, 1 ambitum B^1C. 3 et ipso et ipse *BbC*. 4 L. Cassio *Ritter*. Gnaeoque *Halm*, Marco quoque *vel* Marcoque *libri*. Manlio (Mālio *B*) *plerique*. tresque legiones cum eo *C*. Caesari Augusto *Ritter*. 5 inde pulsi in proximis *b*.

The Suevi. The dress of the hair distinguishes them from other Germans. Dramatic adornment for battle.

38. Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, 1
ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim
Germaniae partem optinent, propriis adhuc nationi-
bus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune
Suebi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem 2
nodoque substringere; sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis,
sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis
gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod
saepe accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra iuventae spa-
tium; apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capil-
lum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso vertice religant;
principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formae, sed 3
innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudi-
nem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti ut
hostium oculis ornantur.

Semnones: their ancient religious customs and sacred groves. They believe themselves the origin of the Suevic tribes.

39. Vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum Sem- 1
nones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur.
Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca
formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi
legationibus coëunt caesoque publice homine celebrant
barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco 2
reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut

38, 1 quamuis *b corr. ex* quam. 2 retorquent *Madvig*, *Halm*, retro sequuntur. ipso (solo *supra lineam*) *b*, solo (ipso *s. l.*) *B*, ipso solo *C*. religatur *Bb*, ligant *C*. 3 comptius hostium *Lachmann*. armantur B^1b^2. 39, 1 vetustissimos se *plerique*, se *om. c*. 2 est *om. C*.

minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte
prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum; per
3 humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respi-
cit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium
deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adicit auctori-
tatem fortuna Semnonum; centum pagi iis habitan-
tur, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput
credant.

The Langobardi: a small but valiant tribe. The worship of Nerthus by various tribes. Account of her ritual.

1 **40.** Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis
ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium,
sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni
deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses
et Suardones et Nuitones fluminibus aut silvis muni-
2 untur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod
in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt
eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis
3 arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus,
dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum; attin-
gere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali
deam intellegit vectamque bubus feminis multa cum
veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca,
4 quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella
ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax
et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec

39, 3 pagi iis habitantur *Brotier*, pagis habitantur. **40**, 1 nobilitas *BCb*. Reudigi *C*. Suarines *BCb*, *sed in b* Suardones *correctum*. Nuithones *B*. 2 Neithum *Bb*[1], Herthum *Rhenanus*. 3 castrum *C*. 4 tunc amata *Heraeus*.

idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

Tribes along the Danube. Friendly relations of Rome with the Hermunduri.

41. Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora 1
Germaniae porrigitur. Propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim sine 2
custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

Marcomani and Quadi: the former famous and powerful. Native and foreign kings. Roman influence.

42. Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marco- 1
mani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio peragitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram 2

41, 1 Sueborum *Rhenanus*, uerborum. 42, 1 Narisci *margo b*, Varisti *Müllenhoff*. parta *C*, parata *Bb*. praecingitur *Tagmann*, *Halm*.

memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus; iam et externos patiuntur, sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

Tribes in the interior. Testimony of language as to tribal origin. The Nahanarvali and their worship like that of Castor and Pollux. Ferocity of the Harii. The Gotones show a loss of independence.

1 **43**. Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marco-
manorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni
et Buri sermone cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos
Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse
2 Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tribu-
torum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis impo-
nunt. Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt.
Omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum sal-
3 tus et vertices montium iugumque insederunt. Diri-
mit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium
iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus
latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates
4 diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios,
Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. Apud
Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur.
Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpre-
tatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant.
5 Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum

42, 2 mansere *B*. 43, 1 gotini *BbC*. 3 [iugumque] *Acidalius*, [montium iugumque] *Reifferscheid*. 4 Helvaeonas *Müllenhoff*, *pp*. 246–248. naharualos *Bb*, nahanarualos *Müllenhoff*, *p*. 248. memorat *Bb*. 5 aleis *b*, Alces *vel* Alci *Nipperdey*.

peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen,
ut iuvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires,
quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt,
truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur.
Nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes 6
legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exerci-
tus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum
ac velut infernum adspectum; nam primi in omnibus
proeliis oculi vincuntur.

Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adduc- 7
tius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen
supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et
Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda
scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

The Suiones: a maritime tribe. Their ships. They are rigidly governed and not allowed to wear arms.

44. Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, praeter 1
viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo
differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui
frontem agit. Nec velis ministrant nec remos in ordi-
nem lateribus adiungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam
fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc
remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus 2
imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure
parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in 3
promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo,
quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otio-
sae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt. Enim- 4

43, 7 regnantur *c*, regnant *BbC*. 44, 1 ipso *Cc*, ipse *B*, ipsae *b*. ministrantur *em. Lipsius*. uel hic illinc b^1. 2 iure imperandi *Passow*. 3 otiosae *Colerus*, ociosa.

vero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

Traditions as to the Northern Seas. The Aestii: their worship and customs. Amber and its origin.

1 **45.** Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope
inmotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc
fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in
ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum
insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et
2 radios capitis adspici persuasio adicit. Illuc usque,
et fama vera, tantum natura. Ergo iam dextro Sue-
bici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus
ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae pro-
3 pior. Matrem deum venerantur. Insigne supersti-
tionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omnique
tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostis prae-
stat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta
ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germa-
4 norum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac
soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glaesum vocant, inter
vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura
quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve;
diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris
5 iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in
nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretium-
que mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse

44, 4 subtilitas *Madvig*. **45**, 1 claudiq; *Cc*. emergentis *om. C*, se mergentis *Lipsius*, immergentis *Colerus*. equorum *Colerus*, deorum. 2 si *Grotius*, *Halm*, et. adluuntur *C*, abluuntur *Bb*. 3 omnique *Lipsius*, omniumque. *fortasse* elaborant *Halm*. 4 succinum *b*. glesum *libri*.

intellegas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria
animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata hu-
more mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora 6
igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura
balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque
inesse crediderim; quae vicini solis radiis expressa
atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi
tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam 7
sucini admoto igni temptes, in modum taedae accendi-
tur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in
picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur; in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.

Tribes of doubtful origin: the Peucini, Veneti, Fenni. Savage and wretched life of the Fenni. Fabulous stories.

46. Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinorum Venedorumque et 1
Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam
dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas
vocant, sermone cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani
agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum; conubiis 2
mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur.
Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quidquid
inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigi-
tur latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos 3

45, 5 intus tralucent *Bergk*, interiacent *Halm*. 6 sudantur *Cc*, sudant *Bb*. radius *BbC*. exudant *C*. 7 igne *BC*. tētes *BbC*. gens continuatur Bb^{1}. 46, 1 hi *b*. finis *Puteolanus*, fines. ut Germani . . . Sarmatis (*infra*) *om C*. 2 ora procerum *Heraeus*, *Halm*, ora *om. libri*. mixtos *Bc*, mistos b^{1}.

potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu et pernicitate gaudent; quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque
4 viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus; sola in sagittis spes, quas
5 inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur; huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum
6 receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis
7 ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera iam fabulosa; Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum voltusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere; quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam.

46, 3 pedum *Lipsius*, pecudum *Bb*, peditum b^2c. 4 cubili *Halm*. opes *Meiser*, *Halm*, spes. 5 in obliquo *Heinsius*. 6 difficillimam *Cc*, difficilem *Bb*. sunt *om. b*. opus sit *Rhenanus*. 7 medio *Halm*: mediū *libri*.

AGRICOLA.

SUMMARY.

I. Introduction.

The critical position of a biographer under the Empire. Affection the only motive for this work. Instances of former tyranny. Happier state of things under Nerva and Trajan. 1–3.

II. Agricola's Youth, and Early Course of Honors.

His parentage, early training, and character, 4. First military service in Britain, 5. He marries; becomes Quaestor, Tribune, Praetor, member of a commission on finance under Galba, 6. Death of his mother; Vespasian, whose cause he had espoused, places him at the head of the 20th legion in Britain, 7. By his great tact and military success, he gains the good will and confidence of his superiors, 8. Becomes a patrician; appointed Governor of Aquitania; receives the Consulship; commander-in-chief of the army in Britain, 9.

III. Geography of Britain; its Former Governors.

Position and form of Britain; nature of the ocean which surrounds it, 10. Theories as to the origin of the Britons, 11. Military and political character; soil and climate, 12. Epitome of Roman dealings with Britain from Julius Caesar to Vespasian, 13. Governors of Britain from Aulus Plautius to Suetonius Paulinus, 14. Uprising of the Britons, under Boudicca, crushed by Suetonius Paulinus; government of Paulinus and his successors, 15–16. Under Vespasian the conquest of Britain was carried on with greater vigor, 17.

IV. Roman Conquests under Agricola.

Conquers the Ordovices and the island Mona, 18. His wise and energetic official career, 19–21. Progress of the conquest; treatment of his subordinates, 22, 23. Ireland: its conquest possible, 24. Exploration of Scotland, with the help of the fleet; victory over the Caledonians; the Britons take arms anew, 25–27. A cohort of the Usipi deserts and escapes to Germany, 28. Agricola advances to Mount Graupius, which the Britons had occupied, 29. Address of Calgacus to his warriors, 30–32. Address of Agricola, 33, 34. Victory of the Legions at Mount Graupius, 35–37. Results of the victory; circumnavigation of Britain, 38. Jealousy and hypocrisy of Domitian on hearing of the victory, 39.

V. Life of Agricola after his Return from Britain.

Agricola leaves Britain; Domitian's double-dealing; receives Agricola coldly, 40. Public disasters; general demand that Agricola should be placed in command; the danger which threatened him, 41. He declines a Proconsulship; seeks to soften the malice of the Emperor, 42.

VI. Death of Agricola.

Suspicions of poison, 43. His personal appearance; he was fortunate in the time of his death, 44, 45.

VII. Conclusion.

The peculiar sorrow of Tacitus and his wife, 45. Appeal to the survivors to imitate Agricola's virtues; his fame will not perish, 46.

GERMANIA.

SUMMARY.

The Germania falls into two main divisions. Capp. 1–27 are general in their character.

Capp. 28–46 give an account of particular tribes.

I. General Account. 1–27.

A. The Land and its Inhabitants. 1–6.

Boundaries of ancient Germany, 1. Origin of the Germans; physical characteristics, 2–4. More particular account of the land and its products, 5–6.

B. Customs of the Germans. 6–27.

1. Public life, 6–15.

Military affairs, 6–8. Religious customs, 9–10. Government; law; popular assemblies, 11–13. Wearing of arms; the retinue, 13–14. Manner of life; revenue of chiefs, 14–15.

2. Private life, 16–27.

Dwellings, 16. Dress, 17. Marriage; training of children; ties of blood; inheritance, 18–20. Blood revenge; hospitality, 21. Eating and drinking; amusements, 22–24. Slaves and freedmen, 25. Money; division of land; agriculture, 26. Burial customs, 27.

II. Particular Account. 28–46.

A. Border Tribes on the West. 28–29.

Helvetii and Boii (Keltic); Aravisci and Osi (Pannonian); Treveri and Nervii (claiming German origin); Vangiones, Triboci,

Nemetes (real Germans); Ubii (transplanted by Agrippa to the left bank of the Rhine); Batavi (on an island); Mattiaci (in the same relation to the Romans as the Batavi); Decumates agri (within the borders of Germania Magna, but not occupied by Germans).

B. Tribes in West Germany. 30–34.

Chatti, Usipi, Tencteri, Bructeri, Chamavi, Angrivarii, Dulgubnii, Chasuarii.

C. Tribes in Northwest Germany. 34–37.

Frisii, Chauci, Cherusci, Fosi, Cimbri. Special account of the Cimbri.

D. The Suebi. 38–45.

Tacitus divides the Germans into Suebi and non-Suebi. To the former he assigns a vast territory. Manner of wearing their hair, 38. The Suebi in the interior: Semnones, Langobardi; tribes near the mouth of the Elbe and on the Cimbric peninsula, 39–40. Tribes on the Danube: Hermunduri, Naristi, Marcomani, Quadi, 41–42.

The East and Northeast Germans: Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri, Lugii (with five subdivisions), Gotones, Rugii, Lemovii, Suiones, Sitones, Aestii, 43–45.

E. Non-Germanic Tribes, or those which have not remained pure.

Peucini, Venedi, Fenni, 46.

F. Region of the Fabulous.

Hellusii, Oxiones, 46.

NOTES.—AGRICOLA.

1. 1. **usitatum**: in apposition with the entire infinitive clause. Tacitus more frequently uses this abbreviated construction in the Histories and Annals. See on Ger. 31. 1.—**quamquam**: without a finite verb, as in 16. 2; 22. 1; 33. 1; 39. 1; also Cic. Fin. V. 68. Elsewhere, post-Augustan.—**incuriosa**: in Tacitus generally with the gen.; with dat. only Hist. II. 17 and Ann. XIV. 38. See the same idea in Ann. II. 88, *vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi;* Hor. Od. III. 24. 31, *virtutem incolumem odimus,* etc.—**suorum**: i.e. *aequalium,* an objective genitive, *Its own great men.*—**vicit ac supergressa est**: such grouping of synonymous words is found often in the earlier writings of Tacitus, especially in the Dialogus, but disappears almost entirely in the Annals. Cf. 3. 4, *incondita ac rudi;* 4. 3, *in sinu indulgentiaque; incensum ac flagrantem;* 6. 4, *quiete et otio.* 10. 2; 12. 1; 16. 5, etc. *supergredi* is post-Augustan for the more common *superare.*—**ignorantiam**: *the ignoring of* or *indifference to anything.*

2. **priores**: those who lived under the Republic. So in 2, *vetus aetas.*—**pronum**: when used of things, signifies *easy, without obstruction.* First so used in Sall. Jug. 80, *facilius proniusque fuit.*—**in aperto erat**: *had free play.* Cf. 33. 5. Hist. III. 56, *cum transgredi Apenninum . . . in aperto foret.* Such use of an adj. with a preposition is common in every period. Tacitus carries it very far. Cf. 5. 3, *in ambiguo;* 15. 1, *ex facili;* 20. 3, *ex aequo.*—**gratia**: *partiality* or *partisan feeling.*—**ambitione**: *self-seeking* or *desire to please.*

3. **plerique**, *not a few.* Cf. 16. 2; 28. 3; 29. 1. By writers of the Augustan age used as a superlative. In the age of Tacitus its meaning was modified. See on Ger. 8. 3.—**ipsi**: the infinitive phrase

is like a conditional sentence, *si suam ipsi vitam narrarent*, which may explain the nominative *ipsi*. *Ipsorum* would be more regular. Cf. Sall. Jug. 18, *exercitus . . . amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus brevi dilabitur*. — **fiduciam . . . morum**: *confidence in their own characters*. Predicate acc. with *vitam narrare*. — **Rutilio**: *P. Rutilius Rufus*, friend of Laelius and Scipio, orator and Stoic philosopher, consul 105 B.C. A man of irreproachable life. Died in banishment, probably at Smyrna, where he wrote an autobiography and a Roman History, the latter in Greek. — **Scauro**: *M. Aemilius Scaurus*, consul 115 and 107 B.C. Enemy of Rutilius and a zealous champion of the Aristocracy. Sall. Jug. 15 says he was *impiger*, *factiosus*, *avidus potentiae*, *honoris*, *divitiarum*, *ceterum vitia sua callide occultans*. Cicero esteems him very highly. — **citra**: *without*. From the original local meaning was developed a sense like that of *sine*. The usage began with Livy and the Augustan poets. It is common in Quintilian and Pliny the Elder. Cf. 35. 2, *citra . . . sanguinem*; see on Ger. 16. 3. In this sense post-Augustan, and not found in the Histories or Annals. — **obtrectationi**: dat. of purpose or end. A. & G. 233; G. 350; H. 390. Tacitus seeks variety and change of construction. Cf. 6. 2; 9. 5; Ger. 40. 1. — **nunc**: in contrast with the happier condition of former times. — **venia**: *indulgence*, on the part of the reader. — **fuit**: the perfect, because the entire first chapter is a kind of plea for indulgence. — **incusaturus**: *if I were going to make an attack*. In those evil times accusations met with favor. — **infesta virtutibus**: under Domitian, pre-eminence was dangerous. Cf. Hist. I. 2, *ob virtutes certissimum exitium*.

2. 1. **Legimus**: perfect, referring probably to the *acta diurna*, a kind of gazette published daily at Rome, and containing brief announcements of important events. Tacitus implies that the age was so depraved that these judicial murders were recorded with the other news of the day. — **Rustico**: Praetor in 69, and put to death by Domitian because he had written in praise of Thrasea and Helvidius, and called them *sanctissimi viri*. Cf. Plin. Ep. I. 5. 3; Suet. Dom. 10. — **Thrasea**: an independent and high-minded Stoic, hated by Nero, and in 66 driven to suicide by him. He was the husband of the younger Arria and the father of Fannia, who married Helvidius Priscus. Cato the Younger was

his ideal. Cf. Ann. XVI. 21–35. — **Senecioni**: dat. of agency, often used by Tacitus. He was a friend of the younger Pliny, and was put to death by Domitian for his praise of Helvidius. — **Helvidius**: banished by Nero in 66; returned under Galba; put to death by Vespasian on account of his undisguised hostility. Tacitus speaks in high terms of his stern and lofty character. Cf. Hist. IV. 4–9. — **triumviris**: sc. *capitalibus*. They were inferior officers. Such duties generally fell to the Aediles. Cf. Ann. IV. 35, *libros per Aediles cremandos censuere patres.* The burning of the books by the *triumviri* was intended to add to the dishonor. — **in comitio ac foro**: executions and severe punishments took place in the comitium, a part of the forum. Cf. Plin. Ep. IV. 11. 10. *foro* is added to emphasize the publicity. Cf. Plin. H. N. XV. 77, *in foro ipso ac comitio.*

2. **libertatem**: the senate was dependent and submissive; but before Domitian there was freedom of speech. — **conscientiam**: the common knowledge, i.e. the perpetuation of things by tradition. — **sapientiae professoribus**: i.e. philosophers. *Professor* is post-Augustan for *magister* or *praeceptor*. The philosophers were banished by Domitian about A.D. 94, because they were suspected of political aims. Cf. Plin. Ep. III. 11. 2. — **bona arte**: Domitian sought to extirpate every honorable aim in science or art. Cf. Plin. Pan. 47. 1. — **occurreret**: without the dative, in sense of *inveniretur*. Cf. Ger. 33. 1. In the classical period the dat. is either expressed or can be supplied from the context.

3. **Dedimus**: sc. *universi*, i.e. *populus Romanus*. — **patientiae**: *forbearance* or *endurance*. — **ultimum**: the extreme point that could be reached. — **ita nos**: sc. *vidimus*. — **inquisitiones**: the system of espionage under Domitian. See Merivale's Hist. Romans under the Empire, V. 130; VII. 127. The Annals of Tacitus are an indictment of the system under Tiberius, as the letters of Pliny are an indictment of Domitian's reign. — **voce**: sc. *libera*.

3. 1. **saeculi**: *age*; referring to a period of government, as in 44. 5. After the assassination of Domitian, Sept. 18, A.D. 96, M. Cocceius Nerva came to the throne. He was a mild and venerable prince, and on Sept. 18, A.D. 97, he associated with himself by adoption M. Ulpius Traianus, a Spaniard, a man of

energy and a successful soldier. Nerva died Jan. 27, A.D. 98. — **dissociabiles**: in prose ἅπαξ εἰρημένον; with the exception of Hor. Od. I. 3. 22, found only in late Latin poetry. See the same sentiment in Hist. IV. 64, *haud facile libertas et domini miscentur*. — **miscuerit**: in Tacitus the subjunctive with *quamquam* is more common than the indicative. It has been argued from this passage that the Agricola was written while Nerva was alive. The omission of *divus* with Nerva's name is no proof that he was still living. Trajan is called *princeps*, a plain intimation that he was sole ruler. The Agricola was probably written at the beginning of Trajan's reign, A.D. 98. — **Traianus**: ruled until Aug. 11, A.D. 117. — **nec spem modo**, etc.: a rhetorical expression which means *our hope is fulfilled*. *Securitas* is personified. The zeugma in *adsumpserit* suggests *conceperit*, which would be applicable to *spem ac votum*. — **fiduciam ac robur** may be a case of hendiadys, *well grounded confidence*. — **sunt**: a general truth.

2. **oppresseris**: second person sing. of perfect subj. to express an indefinite subject. A. & G. 311, a; G. 250; H. 485. — **subit**: *steals over us*; found in this sense in poetry, and in post-Augustan prose. — **quippe**: anastrophe; originally interrogative, and from this was developed a causal use. Ribbeck, Lat. Part., p. 17; Schmalz, Lat. Gr. p. 467. Even in Sallust, and still more in Livy, it is used like *enim*.

3. **quid?**: an oratorical form for the introduction of new and stronger proof, like our "but, again." Found in four speeches in Tacitus: Hist. IV. 17. 42; Ann. IV. 40; XI. 23. — **si . . . interciderunt**: the force of the conditional sentence with the indic. is practically causal. — **quindecim**: the reign of Domitian, A.D. 81–96. — **promptissimus**: sc. *ingenio*, e.g. Rusticus and Senecio. — **ut ita dixerim**: the potential perf. subj. in parenthetical clauses is post-Augustan. See on Ger. 2. 1. Cf. Dial. 34. 40; Ann. XIV. 53. — **nostri superstites**: the usage with *superstes* has always fluctuated. Even in the same writer it varies. Cf. Ger. 6. 6, *superstites bellorum*; 14. 1, *superstitem principi suo*. — **iuvenes**: those of us who fifteen years ago were young men (*iuvenes*). After the 45th year one was *senior*, and after the 60th *senex*. — **non . . . pigebit**: litotes, for *iuvabit*. — **testimonium**: referring to his plan of writing

a history of the times of Nerva and Trajan. This project he never carried out. — **composuisse**: in the sense of *cum composuero*; a reference to the Histories, which were already begun.

4. 1. **Gnaeus Iulius Agricola**: this is perhaps the only exception to the rule that in Tacitus but two names are used on first introducing a character. In later references to the same person, one name suffices. See Wölfflin, Archiv, f. Lat. Lex., etc. III. 577. — **Foroiuliensium**: the name of the people put for that of the place, Forum Iulii, now Frejus, in Gallia Narbonensis, colonized by Julius Caesar in B.C. 44, and made a naval station by Augustus, who sent thither the ships captured at Actium. It was also called *Colonia Classica* and *Pacensis*. From a military point of view, it was the most important of the four new burgess-colonies which Caesar planted in the territory which was given up by Massilia. They were probably not colonized by veterans. See Mommsen, Hist. IV. 646; Provinces, I. 93; Hist. Gall. Narb. (Herzog) p. 81. Agricola was born A.D. 40. See on 44. 1. — **equestris**: from the time of Augustus, the imperial Procurators were Knights, or freedmen who by virtue of their office became Knights. Tacitus means to say that the family did not belong to the class of freedmen. The Procurator was the Emperor's fiscal agent. In the Imperial Provinces he had entire control of the finances. In the Senatorial Provinces, a Quaestor had charge of the revenue belonging to the treasury (*aerarium*), while a Procurator managed the collection of that revenue only which belonged to the Emperor (*fiscus*). See Arnold's Prov. Ad. p. 109; Merivale, Hist. of the Romans, III. 425.

2. **Graecinus**: as to his death, Seneca de Ben. 2. 21 says: *quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset, quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.* He wrote a treatise on the culture of the vine; cf. Columella, I. 1. 14. — **Gaii Caesaris**: commonly known as Caligula, a vicious and worthless prince. He succeeded Tiberius, and reigned A.D. 37–41. — **meritus**: as if for some misdeed, since by such an emperor as Caligula virtues were counted as vices. The meaning is, *he drew upon himself*. — **M. Silanum**: consul A.D. 19, honored for noble birth and eloquence; father of Junia Claudilla, who married Caligula in A.D. 33, but died a few years later. He was driven to suicide by Caligula.

3. **sinu indulgentiaque**: generally regarded as a case of hendiadys: *under her loving protection.*

4. **arcebat**: the subject is the clause, *quod statim . . . compositum.* See A. & G. 333; G. 525; H. 540, IV. — **peccantium**: used substantively, as is common in Tacitus. Cf. 5. 4, *eminentes;* 6. 3, *peccantibus;* 40. 3, *servientium.* A similar use of the participle is found in Livy. — **Massiliam**:

"After the fall of Carthage, Massilia was the largest centre for trade and manufacture in the west, and as the ally of Rome in the Punic wars received an important extension of territory. It preserved its Greek manners, language, and autonomous constitution, down to later imperial times." Kiepert. From the time of Augustus, young Romans pursued their studies at Massilia, perhaps because the morals of the place were better than at Athens. Afterward debauchery and extravagance prevailed. L. Antonius was banished by Augustus to Massilia, *ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur;* Ann. IV. 44.

— **locum . . . mixtum**: instead of *locum in quo mixtae sunt.* — **bene compositum**: not merely mingled (*mixtum*), but united in happy proportion.

5. **Romano ac senatori**: the Romans were fitted for action, not speculation. This was the difference between the Greek and Roman spirit. A senator's life was concerned with practical affairs and called for prudence and sagacity, but not for philosophy. Cf. Suet. Nero 52, *a philosophia eum mater avertit, monens imperaturo contrariam esse.* — **hausisse**: instead of the more common *hausturum fuisse.* The direct discourse would have been *hauriebam*, as in the apodosis of conditions contrary to fact. Cf. 13. 4, *agitasse;* Cic. de Sen. 23, *esse conatos* instead of *conaturos fuisse.* The imperfect is very common with Tacitus in such clauses. Ann. I. 23. 35. 63. See A. & G. 308, b.; G. 599, 2; H. 511. — **caute**: instead of *cautius.* A. & G. 192, b.; G. 314; H. 444, 2, n. 3. Only here and in Hist. I. 83, *acrius quam considerate.* Perhaps a mingling of the two constructions, *vehementius quam cautius* and *magis vehementer quam caute.* — **modum**: wise moderation, especially with reference to political matters.

5. 1. **castrorum**: *military service.* Cf. 16, *nullis castrorum experimentis.* — **Suetonio Paulino**: a brave officer who fought in A.D. 41 against the Moors, and commanded in Britain A.D. 59–61. As to his character, cf. Hist. II. 25, *cunctator natura, et cui cauta potius*

consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent; also II. 31, *nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur.* — **adprobavit**: used with the dative (*Paulino*) in the sense, *he learned to the satisfaction of*, etc. — **contubernio**: Paulinus wished to test him, by having him as a messmate. To be *in contubernio imperatoris* was a privilege accorded to young men of high birth. They were under the eye of the commander and learned the art of war from him.

2. **nec**: connects this with the preceding sentence, and is not correlative with the following *neque.* — **titulum**: such young men were tribunes only in name, and having little responsibility would be tempted to idleness and indulgence. — **inscitiam**: sc. *suam;* the inexperience which was natural in a young titular tribune. — **rettulit**: *he made use of.* The logical connection would be, *nec Agricola licenter ad lasciviam, neque segniter ad voluptates*, etc. — **noscere**, etc.: historical infinitives, frequently used by Tacitus in giving such a catalogue of items. — **ob formidinem**: in Tacitus the use of *ob* has almost entirely displaced *propter.* The latter occurs only in Dial. 21 and Hist. I. 65. *ob* occurs in the Agricola twice; Germania three times; Histories 26 times, and Annals 135 times. See Wölfflin, Archiv, f. Lat. Lex. I. 161.

3. **exercitatior**: cf. 16. 1, where Tacitus describes the revolt under Boudicca in A.D. 61. — **in ambiguo**: see on 1. 2. The Roman hold upon the island was doubtful. Cf. 41. 2, *de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum.* — **veterani**: stationed as a garrison in Camalodunum (Colchester), north of the mouth of the Thames, in the present county of Essex. Tacitus describes the destruction of the colony in Ann. XIV. 32. — **coloniae**: we know of no colony except *Camalodunum.* Perhaps *Londinium* and *Verulamium* are loosely included under this term. See Momms. Prov. 1. 192; Budinzsky, Ausbreitung d. Lat. Spr. p. 128. — **exercitus**: the plural refers to different divisions of the army; as Ann. 1. 52; III. 12.

4. **summa rerum**: *the chief conduct of affairs.* — **temporibus**: an abl. like *quibus.* The reference is to the times of the Empire in general; for even Tiberius had been jealous of the prominence of his generals. — **sinistra**: in this sense, properly a term of augury.

6. 1. **ad capessendos magistratus**: *for entering upon the career of office.* — **natalibus**: a post-Augustan use of the word for *genus* or *origo.* — **decus ac robur**: it was socially an honor and politically a help.

2. **nisi quod**: see on 16. 6. Tacitus has already accorded praise to both, and now makes an exception in favor of the wife; for *bonae uxores* were rare.

3. **sors quaesturae**: i.e. having gained the Quaestorship, the verdict of the lot assigned him to duty in Asia. He was Quaestor in A.D. 64. Cf. Cic. in Ver. I. 4, *Quaestura primus gradus honoris.* The provincial Quaestors were perhaps at first appointed with the idea of lessening the power of the governor by taking from it all financial functions. Their full number before Sulla is not known. He raised it to twenty, and Caesar to forty. They were not appointed by the governors, but assigned to different provinces by lot. See Arnold's Prov. Ad. p. 58. — **Asiam**: proconsular Asia, comprising Caria, Lydia, Mysia, and Phrygia. It originated in the gift of Attalus III. to the Romans, B.C. 133. Asia and Africa were the two remaining consular provinces. — **Salvium Titianum**: an older brother of the Emperor Otho. — **neutro**: the abl. neuter, because Salvius is regarded as a corrupting influence. — **dives**: sc. *esset.* For omission of verb, see on Ger. 9. 2. — **peccantibus**: as regards avarice and extortion. — **quantalibet**: poetical and post-Augustan prose. — **auctus est**: cf. Cic. ad Att. I. 2, *filiolo me auctum scito.* — **in subsidium**: in view of the Lex Papia Poppaea, promulgated A.D. 9, by which certain political privileges were granted to those who had children. Cf. Ann. II. 51; III. 56; Plin. Ep. VII. 16. *in* denotes the end or purpose. Cf. 5. 2; 8. 3. — **sublatum**: at the birth of the child, it was laid at the father's feet. If he lifted it up (*sustulit*), it was a sign of his purpose to rear it. Otherwise it was left to perish by exposure.

4. **inter . . . tribunatum plebis**: A.D. 66. Since the time of Augustus, who absorbed the tribunician power, the office had lost its former dignity. The *lex annalis*, B.C. 180, fixed the age at which each office might be held, though Livy (40. 44) does not mention the ages. Apparently the order was as follows: Quaestor, 30; Aedile, 37; Praetor, 40; Consul, 43. Cicero, who filled these offices at the ages above given, made it his boast in later

years that he had filled every public office at the earliest age at which it could legally be held (*anno suo*). For the regulations under the Sullan Constitution, see Momms. Hist. III. 437. The legal age for the Quaestorship became practically that for the Senate. Under the later Republic, therefore, it was 30; from the time of Augustus onward, 25. *annum* is implied with *inter quaesturam ac tribunatum.* — **quiete et otio**: the same phrase is found in 21. 1, and 42. 2. — **praeturae**: A.D. 68. — **iurisdictio**: the number of members in the college of praetors varied according to the caprice or policy of the Emperors. Under the Republic it had been raised from two to eight. Caesar appointed as many as sixteen. See Merivale, Hist. III. 401. Judicial functions belonged to but two; viz. the *praetores urbanus* and *peregrinus*. The other praetors had charge of the public games.

5. **inania honoris**: *the pageantry of office;* as in Ann. II. 76, *inania famae;* Cic. in Ver. 1. 6, *inania nobilitatis*. Cic. de Off. II. 59, speaking of such spectacles, says: *in his autem ipsis mediocritatis regula optima est.* — **Galba**: succeeded Nero A.D. 68, and reigned for seven months. He was killed Jan. 15, A.D. 69. — **dona templorum**: after the burning of Rome, A.D. 64, Nero extorted money from all quarters, and did not spare even the offerings in the temples. All that had not been melted up was now restored. Cf. Ann. XV. 45. For a similar commission appointed by Galba, see Hist. I. 20. — **sensisset**: *had experienced*. The pluperfect subj., as in Plin. Pan. 40, *effecisti ne malos principes habuissemus*. What Nero had squandered could not be recovered; but all other losses were so far made good that it might be said that the state had never experienced them. For *ne* see A. & G. 319, 3, a, n.; G. 557; H. 498, 2; Madvg. 372, b; 456, obs. 3.

7. 1. **annus**: A.D. 69. — **classis**: in this year of disorder, discipline was lax, and the fleet of Otho plundered the northwest coast of Italy. Cf. Hist. II. 12, *tamquam externa litora et urbes hostium urere, vastare, rapere*, etc. After the procurator of the Maritime Alps had been repulsed, these marines fell upon the municipium, Albium Intimilium, the modern Vintimiglia, a few miles east of Monaco. — **Intimilios**: the name of the people, and used as *Foroiuliensium* in 4. 1. — **praediaque**, etc.: this would include whatever pertained to the farm, as flocks, herds, etc., while *patrimonium* applies to furniture and rich ware.

2. **sollemnia pietatis**: *the customary duties of filial affection.* Cf. Ann. XII. 69; XV. 64, *sollemne funeris.* — **adfectati**: *adfectare* means *to aspire after*, or *lay claim to.* For the use of the participle, see A. & G. 292, a; G. 667, R. 2; H. 549, 5, n. 2. — **Vespasiano**: Vespasian was hailed as Emperor A.D. 69, in Judea and Egypt. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had followed Nero in rapid succession. Cf. Dial. 17, *illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitelli longum et unum annum.* — **Mucianus**: *M. Licinius Crassus Mucianus*, at first on the side of Otho, later espoused the cause of Vespasian, fought against Vitellius, and commanded in Italy and Rome before Vespasian came from the east. It was he who urged Vespasian to claim the empire. For his character, see Hist. II. 5. — **Domitiano**: the younger son of Vespasian, in his 18th year, a worthless and profligate prince. Cf. Hist. IV. 2, *stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat.*

3. **vicesimae**:

There were four legions in Britain at the beginning of the reign of Vespasian; viz. three from the Rhine, the 2d Augusta, the 14th, and the 20th; and the 9th Spanish from Pannonia. Vespasian called away the 14th for the war against Civilis, and it did not return, but probably the 2d Adiutrix in its place. The 2d Augusta was stationed at Caerleon, the 20th at Chester. See Momms., Prov. I. 140 and 190; Merivale, VI. 40; Budinszky, p. 126. Cf. Hist. III. 44; Ann. XIV. 32. 37; Agr. 26. 1. The legions and their stations varied somewhat in later times.

— **decessor**: this was Roscius Caelius. He was at enmity with his superior, Trebellius Maximus, the *legatus consularis*, and possibly for this reason was too indulgent toward his insubordinate troops. Therefore he is said *seditiose agere.* Trebellius fled to Vitellius. In Cic. pro Scauro 33, the predecessor in office is also named *decessor.* — **legatis . . . consularibus**: the governor of the province. In theory, the Emperor was the governor of all the imperial provinces, and he appointed in each a *legatus* to represent him. These *legati* might be either of consular or praetorian rank. The provinces in which there were several legions were always governed by *legati consulares.* The *legatus praetorius* was either the commander of a single legion, as in this case, or the term might be applied to the governor of an imperial province of the second rank. See Arnold's Prov. Ad. p. 106–7. — **nimia**: *too powerful;* with dat. as in Vell. II. 32, *Pompeium nimium iam liberae reipublicae.* — **incertum**, etc.: i.e. whether he was an incompetent officer, or they were unruly soldiers. — **suo**: sc. *ingenio.*

4. **successor . . . et ultor**: *successor* applies to the previous *legatus; ultor* to the insubordinate troops. — **videri**, etc.: he worked upon the honor of the soldiers, as Marius did; see Sall. Jug. 100, *pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat.*

8. 1. **tunc**: A.D. 69. Vettius Bolanus commanded under Corbulo, in Armenia, in A.D. 62, attained the consulship under Nero, and after retiring from Britain became proconsul of Asia. — **dignum est**: a general statement. — **compescuit**: mostly poetical or in post-Augustan prose. — **incresceret**: *become too prominent.* Agricola is the subject. — **peritus**: used with infinitive only here, Verg. Ecl. 10. 32, and Pers. 2. 34, after the analogy of *doctus*, *sciens*, etc. See A. & G. 273, d. — **eruditus**: also found with infin. in Plin. H. N. XXXIII. 149.

2. **consularem**: i.e. *legatum consularem.* Petilius Cerialis commanded the 9th legion, A.D. 61, under Suetonius Paulinus, in Britain, and was defeated by the natives. He became one of the best of Vespasian's officers, and, under that emperor, won distinction in Germany against Civilis, and also as governor of Britain. — **spatium**, etc.: "a field in which proofs of courage could be shown." — **communicabat**: sc. *cum eo.* — **ex eventu**: *in view of his success.*

3. **gestis**: abl. of cause. — **auctorem**: the one who was in command and under whose auspices affairs were carried on. — **nec**: for *nec tamen*, as in 18. 8; 19. 3; 22. 4. Cf. Livy, III. 55, *Sine ulla patrum iniuria, nec sine offensione.*

9. 1. **revertentem**: *on his way back*, A.D. 73. — **patricios**: the patrician families had lost all political significance, but still maintained, socially, the highest rank. Like all titled orders, they tended to run out. If their ranks had not been constantly replenished ever since the time of Caesar, they would have become extinct. Cf. Ann. II. 37; XI. 25, *paucis iam reliquis familiarum, quas Romulus maiorum et L. Brutus minorum gentium appellaverant, exhaustis etiam, quas dictator Caesar . . . et princeps Augustus sublegere.* — **Aquitaniae**: it formed a separate province from the time of Augustus. Galba came from the governorship of Aquitania to the consulship. Cf. Suet. Galba. 6. — **splendidae dignitatis**: gen. of quality depending upon *provinciae.* Cf. 9. 7, *egregiae . . . spei.*

2. **secura**: *free from anxiety;* having no fear from the craft of an adversary or the fickleness or venality of judges. — **obtusior**: *somewhat blunt;* i.e. dealing on the basis of common sense, without regard to legal artifice. — **manu agens**: *proceeding off-hand.* There is a trace of the original legal meaning of *manus* (power). — **togatos**: i.e. *cives.* The *toga* was the dress of civil life. — **facile iusteque**: *with readiness* (as master of the situation) *and equity.*

3. **iam vero**: *moreover.* — **divisa**: i.e. entirely separated. — **ubi**: with the subjunctive of repeated action. Found often in Livy, also in the Histories and more frequently in the Annals; but not elsewhere in the shorter writings of Tacitus. See A. & G. 309, b; G. 569, R. 2; H. 518, 1. — **conventus ac iudicia**:

Under the Empire, the provinces were regularly divided into *Conventus*, or judicial districts. From an early period towns were set apart where the Praetor would hold court. To these centres, the cases which had arisen in a large surrounding district were brought for settlement. *Iudicia* refers to the ordinary administration of the law in the city where the governor lived. Cf. B. G. I. 54; VI. 44; VIII. 46. See Arnold's Prov. Ad. p. 52.

— **et saepius**: "when *et* connects a clause which seems to contradict what goes before, it has the force of *et tamen;* just as, in the negative clause, *nec* often equals *nec tamen.*" Cf. 8. 3. Kritz. — **persona**: the actor's mask; here *display.*

4. **avaritiam**: a common fault of provincial governors. — **exuerat**: since the tendency to these faults exists in human nature, and through self-conquest was laid aside. Cf. Ann. VI. 25, *Agrippina . . . feminarum vitia exuerat.* Not that she had laid aside her own faults, but that she was free from the faults mentioned as common to women. — **illi**: dat. with *deminuit.* See A. & G. 229; G. 344; H. 386. — **abstinentiam**: with reference to money. Cf. Suet. Iul. 54. — **iniuria . . . fuerit**: *would be an insult*, etc. These qualities are to be taken for granted in him. Cf. Vell. II. 45. 5, *cuius integritatem laudari nefas est.*

5. **cui . . . boni indulgent**: a sentiment frequently expressed. Cf. Hist. IV. 16, *etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur.* See Milton's Lycidas, "*Fame, . . . that last infirmity of noble mind.*" Edmund Burke, "American Taxation": "*. . . a passion for fame: a passion which is the instinct of all great souls.*" —

ostentanda virtute aut per artem: the same change of construction as in 6. 2; Ger. 40. 1. — **collegas**: governors of neighboring provinces. — **procuratores**: see on 4. 1. The procurator and the governor were not apt to be on good terms. Indeed, the procurator was often the Emperor's spy upon the governor. — **atteri**: to suffer loss of dignity, as one might in controversy with an inferior. It is milder than *vinci*.

6. **minus triennium**: for syntax, see A. & G. 247, c; G. 311, 4; H. 417, n. 2. Maecenas is said to have advised Augustus not to leave a governor in office less than three, nor more than five years. There were many exceptions to this rule. See Arnold, Rom. Prov. Ad. p. 107. — **statim**: grammatically connected with *revocatus*, but in point of sense it has an adjective force with *ad spem*. — **dari**: instead of the future passive infinitive, to express the certainty that this was in view. Cf. Vell. II. 1. 5, *quem illi recipere se negaverunt*. — **elegit**: not the aorist, but the perfect definite: *it has determined the choice*.

7. **tum**: she was 13 or 14 years old. Pliny, Ep. V. 16, says of a young girl just ready to be married: *nondum annos quattuordecim impleverat*. Cicero's daughter was but 10 or 11 years of age when betrothed to Calpurnius Piso. Agricola held the consulship with Domitian during the latter half of the year 77. Caesar introduced the practice of substituting consuls for a part of the year. Augustus adopted the practice and made it a system. Down to the time of Vespasian the term was ordinarily six months. Afterward it was reduced to four, and then to three. See Merivale, Hist. Rom. VII. 432, n. — **sacerdotio**: the college of pontiffs consisted at first of five members, later of eight, then fifteen, and under the Empire the number varied. The Emperor, as Pontifex Maximus, was its presiding officer. The body had little significance after Augustus.

10. 1. **scriptoribus**: dat., as in 2. 1. Such writers were the Greeks, Pytheas, Timaeus, and Strabo; also Caesar, Livy, Mela, Fabius Rusticus, and the elder Pliny. — **in comparationem**: *with a view to a comparison*. — **tum**: i.e. under Agricola, A.D. 78–85. — **comperta**: i.e. *satis certa*. — **percoluere**: generally means *to honor*. Found only here in the sense *to embellish*. — **rerum fide**: *with historical accuracy*.

2. **spatio ac caelo**: *in extent and in latitude. Caelum* does not mean here *climate* or *geographical extent*, but the region of the heavens. — **Germaniae**: a dative. The same geographical error is found in Caes. B. G. V. 13. — **obtenditur**: see the same use in Ger. 35. — **in meridiem**: like the phrases above, denotes direction: *to the east, south*, etc. — **inspicitur**: *is visible;* but only at Calais, where the Channel is but twenty-one miles wide. — **contra**: adverbial and attributive. — **nullis . . . terris**: abl. absolute, expressing cause. Caesar, B. G. V. 14, notices the same fact. — **pulsantur**: poetic for *adluuntur;* cf. Ger. 45. 2.

3. **Livius**: as seen in the epitome of book 105. He was born B.C. 59. — **Fabius Rusticus**: mentioned three times in the Annals; wrote a history of the Empire, beginning with the reign of Claudius. Fabius was living as late as A.D. 108. The omission of Caesar in this list of writers seems to Wex very strange, especially as Tacitus cites him as a leading authority in the Germania, 28. 1. The question has been raised by Wex, whether the description of Britain, B. G. V. 12–14, was written by Caesar. — **scutulae**: not from *scutum;* a dish with a projection on one side for a handle. Some interpret *scutula* as a trapezium or trapezoid. This would somewhat justify the likeness to a *bipennis.* Caesar says the island forms a triangle. The ancients were fond of discovering such resemblances; but they were for the most part inaccurate and fanciful. — **citra**: see on 1. 3. — **extremo iam litore**: when one apparently has come to the end. Cf. Ger. 45. 1, *cadentis iam solis.* — **tenuatur**: poetical and post-Augustan prose, used like *extenuare.*

4. **novissimi**: *most distant.* — **Orcadas**: the Orkneys, already mentioned by Mela, III. 6. 7.

5. **dispecta**: *seen at a distance*, or *dimly seen.* — **quia . . . iussum**: he explains why *Thule* was not reached: *for only so far did the orders extend.* The island *Thule* is unknown; generally thought to be Mainland, the largest of the Shetland group. — **pigrum**: *thick, sluggish.* Cf. Gèr. 45. 1, *mare pigrum ac prope inmotum.* Perhaps the statement depends upon vague rumor or sailors' stories, such as Tacitus refers to in Ann. II. 24 and Ger. 46, 7. — **perinde**: sc. *atque alia maria.* Cf. Ger. 5. 4. — **causa ac materia**: Tacitus' explanations of natural phenomena are of course not scientific. Cf. Agr. 12. 4; Ann. II. 23.

6. **neque . . . ac**: for *neque . . . et*. Very rare. Found only here, and in Suet. Vesp. 12, and Mart. XI. 32. 4. — **addiderim**: for mood, see A. & G. 311, b; G. 250; H. 486. Common in Tacitus. Cf. Agr. 12. 46; Ger. 2. 1; 5. 3; 18. 1; 29. 5; 45. 6. — **fluminum**: currents in the sea. Draeger reads *fluctuum*, and refers it to the long and narrow inlets in which the tide ebbs and flows. Cf. Mela, III. 3, *mare, aquis passim interfluentibus . . . facie amnium spargitur*. — **in suo**: *in its own domain*. Cf. Cic. Att. 13. 2, *pedem ubi ponat in suo, non habet*.

11. 1. **ut**: *as might be expected*. Cf. Ger. 2. 4, *ut in licentia vetustatis*. Also Ger. 22. 2; 45. 4.

2. **argumenta**: i.e. as to their origin. — **rutilae**: as in Ger. 4. 2, *rutilae comae, magna corpora*. Not red, but golden yellow. See Wölfflin, Archiv f. Lat. Lex. VI. 404. — **Silurum**: the Silures occupied Southern Wales; conquered by Ostorius A.D. 50, and their king, Caratacus, taken to Rome. — **colorati**: *swarthy*. — **posita contra**: *contra* is adv., as in 10. 2. The geography is false, as in 10. For this common use of the participle, see on 7. 2. — **Hiberos**: the Iberians were from early times settled in Spain, but never in Britain.

3. **proximi Gallis**: *those* (*of the Britons*) *who are nearest to the Gauls*. Caes. B. G. V. 14 says of the people of Cantium: *neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine*. — **in diversa**: *in opposite directions*. — **aestimanti**: see on Ger. 6. 4. Sometimes called a dative absolute, taking the place of a conditional sentence. First found in Caesar, and under Greek influence widely developed later. See A. & G. 235, b; G. 354; H. 384. 4. n. 3. — **Gallos . . . occupasse**: this is the true theory of the origin of the Britons. They were of the Keltic race. The proofs of this origin were evident in the time of Caesar and Tacitus, in similarity of superstition, sacrifice, priestly office, etc. See Momms. Prov. I. 188; Budinszky, Ausbreitung d. Lat. Spr. cap. IV.

4. **eorum**: i.e. the Gauls. — **superstitionum persuasiones**: *religious beliefs*. *Superstitio* was applied to any foreign worship except the Greek. — **in deposcendis**: cf. B. G. III. 19, *ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est*. Caesar and Livy always express a poor opinion of the Gauls. See B. G. II. 1; III. 8; IV. 5; Livy X. 28. 4.

5. **emollierit**: for the subj. with *ut quos*, see A. & G. 320, e; G. 636; H. 517, 3. — **floruisse**: cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 24, *ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent.* — **Galli**: an attribute of the subject: *such as they were when Gauls.*

12. 1. **robur**: sc. *eorum est*, *chief strength.* The war chariots were called by Caesar *essedae*, B. G. IV. 32, and the warriors *essedarii*, B. G. IV. 24. Tacitus uses, as the corresponding terms, *covinni* and *covinnarii.* Cf. 35. 2; 36. 3. The Britons also had cavalry; cf. B. G. IV. 24, *praemisso equitatu et essedariis;* Mela, III. 6, *dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus.* — **honestior**: just the opposite to the customs of the Greeks, with whom the charioteer was the inferior. Judging from this passage, the condition of the *Clientes*, whom Caesar does not mention, cannot have been so inferior as that of the Gallic *plebs*, who lived in servile dependence upon the nobles. — **factionibus**: of the chiefs. — **studiis**: of the people; abl. case. — **trahuntur**: the simple, as often in Tacitus, for the compound, *distrahuntur.* — **nec aliud**, etc.: a general statement. Cf. 29. 3, *tandem docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum;* also Ger. 33. 2. — **pro nobis utilius**: *nobis utilius* would have expressed the idea. Cf. Hist. I. 5, *vox pro republica honesta;* III. 7, *decorum pro causa.*

2. **conventus**: *alliance, coalition.*

3. **foedum**: *dismal, gloomy.* The characteristic climate of Britain. — **asperitas . . . abest**: cf. Caes. B. G. V. 12, *loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia remissioribus frigoribus.* — **dierum**: Caesar and the elder Pliny notice the same fact, but add the time of year (*aestate*). — **nostri orbis**: *our latitude.* The longest day in Rome is 15 hours; in London, 16½; in the north of Scotland, 18 hours. — **mensuram**: sc. *dierum.*

4. **solis fulgorem**: cf. Ger. 45. 1. The story of the short nights and of the midnight sun transferred from more northern regions to Britain. — **extrema**: such neuter forms used substantively with the partitive genitive are not often found before the Augustan age. Tacitus carries this usage with the plural further than any of his predecessors. Tacitus regarded the earth not as a sphere, but as a disc, like a shield, with an arched surface.

5. **pretium victoriae**: i.e. which make it worth while to conquer Britain. Cf. Cic. Fam. VII. 7, *in Britannia nihil esse audio*

neque auri, neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quam primum recurras.

6. **margarita**: seldom found as a neuter noun. The old grammarians discussed with a good deal of refinement the question which form was correct. See Neue Formenlehre, I. 549. Suet. Iul. 47 says of Caesar: *Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum.* Plin. N. H. IX. 116 says the pearls of Britain were *parvae atque decolores.* Tertullian on "Female dress," speaks of the pearl fisheries in the British and Indian oceans. — **rubro mari**: *the Persian Gulf.* — **expulsa**: thrown out on the coast. Cf. Curt. VIII. 31 (speaking of the Red Sea), *margaritas mare litoribus infundit,* and he calls the pearls *purgamenta freti.* — **crediderim**: see on 10. 6.

13. 1. After describing the island, the people, their customs, etc., Tacitus here takes up the history of Britain. — **obeunt**: a case of zeugma, being applicable only to *munera,* and suggesting *patiuntur* for *delectum* and *conferunt* for *tributa.* — **si . . . absint**: implying that it was a rare occurrence. For the injuries, cf. 15. 19, and the speech of Calgacus, 30–32.

2. **igitur**: resumptive. See A. & G. 156, e; G. 503; H. 554, 4, 3. — **Iulius**: his first invasion was B.C. 55; the second B.C. 54. Cf. B. G. IV. 23–36, and V. 8–23. The speaker in the Dialogus saw in Britain a native who had fought against Caesar. Cf. Dial. 17. — **terruerit**: in late writers the subj. with *quamquam* is not uncommon. See on 3. 1. See A. & G. 313, g; G. 608, R. 1; H. 515, n. 1, 3. — **litore potitus**: in B.C. 54 he advanced beyond the Thames.

3. **bella civilia**: the wars between Caesar and Pompey, Antony and Octavius. — **principum**: the Triumvirs. — **consilium**: *public policy.* Cf. Ann. I. 11, *addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.* — **praeceptum**: *an established rule;* i.e. in the will of Augustus, for which Tiberius pretended the greatest reverence. Cf. Ann. IV. 37, *qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem.*

4. **Gaium Caesarem**: see on 4. 2. In A.D. 40 Caligula assembled a great army and a fleet on the coast of Gaul for an invasion of Britain; but did nothing further. Cf. Suet. Calig. 19. — **constat**: we may supply *et intrasset.* If Tacitus had written *agitabat*

in the direct discourse, instead of *agitasset*, it would have corresponded to his usual form in such conditional sentences. See on 4. 5. — **velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae**: sc. *fuisset*, *hasty in changing his mind, owing to his fickle disposition.* Join *velox* with the genitive *paenitentiae*. — **ingentes . . . conatus**: in A.D. 39 Caligula undertook an absurd campaign on the Rhine, ostensibly to chastise the Germans, but in reality to extort money in Gaul, a scheme which he afterward carried out at Lyons. See Merivale, Hist. Rom. V. 346. Cf. Ger. 37. 5, *ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae.* — **frustra**: the use of the adverb as apparent predicate is quite rare, and colloquial. Cf. Sall. Cat. 20. 2.

5. **Divus Claudius**: Claudius followed Caligula in the Empire, and reigned A.D. 41–54. In A.D. 43, at the request of the exiled King Bericus, Claudius sent Aulus Plautius to Britain with an army, and he himself spent 16 days in the island. — **Vespasiano**: Vespasian commanded the second legion in Britain, and his son Titus served under him as military tribune. Suet. Vesp. 4 says, *tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes superque viginti oppida . . . in dicionem redegit.* — **fortunae**: sc. *Vespasiani.* — **fatis**: Kritz, Draeger, Wex, and Andresen regard the word as an abl., or possibly a dative of agent; others translate, *to the fates.*

14. 1. **Aulus Plautius**: governor A.D. 44–47; Ostorius Scapula, 47–51; Didius Gallus, 51–57; Veranius, 57–58; Suetonius Paulinus, 58–61.

2. **colonia**: see on 5. 3. Camalodunum, the modern Colchester. The name endings in England which have arisen from *castrum* (-castor, -chester, -caistor, -xeter) always denote an ancient site. On the growth of the town from the camp, see Arnold, Prov. Ad. p. 206; Momms. Prov. I. 182. — **Cogidumno**: an inscription was found at Chichester which seems to contain the name *Cogidumnus*, with the imperial names Tiberius Claudius prefixed. See Scarth's Rom. Brit. p. 242–3. — **et reges**: *even kings.* Such kings were Attalus, Eumenes, Masinissa. The subject of *haberet* is *populus Romanus.* For such "client Princes," see Arnold, Prov. Ad. p. 10.

3. **aucti officii**: doing more than his duty required.

4. **biennio**: i.e. *per biennium.* — **firmatis**, etc.: i.e. *praesidiis*

firmis positis. *Firmare* does not mean to strengthen something already existing, which is regarded as weak, but to establish securely something new. See on 35. 1. — **quorum**: an objective genitive. A. & G. 217; G. 361; H. 396, III. — **Monam**: Anglesea. The conquest of Mona was an important end. The island played the same part with reference to Britain, which Britain had played for Gaul. It was the "focus of national and religious resistance." Momms. Prov. I. 193.

15. 1. **interpretando**: i.e. by putting their own construction upon these injuries. — **ex facili**: see on 1. 2.

2. **binos**: i.e. the governor and the procurator. — **procurator in bona**: see on 4. 1. — **centuriones**: of the governor. — **servos**: of the *procurator*, who employed slaves in collecting the revenue. See Cic. in Ver. II. 2. 27, for the devices for plundering a province. — **exceptum**: with the dative, as in Verg. IX. 270.

3. **in proelio**: in contrast with *nunc*. — **nescientibus**: *sibi* is implied, as dative with *eripi*, etc.

4. **Sic**: i.e. by uniting their forces under Arminius in A.D. 9. — **Germanias**: the plural is used rhetorically. In reality the uprising of Arminius affected only lower Germany. — **et**: see on 9. 3. — **illis**: *the Romans*.

5. **divus**: this title, familiar to the Romans, is here put in the mouth of a Briton.

6. **difficillimum**: not only because the Romans prevented it, but also because, as Tacitus says in 12. 2, *rarus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus*.

16. 1. **Boudicca**: the form of the name is not certain. We find Voaduca, Bouducca, Boudicea, and other forms. — **sumpsere bellum**: in imitation of Sallust. Tacitus also has *sumere militiam*, *proelium*, *expugnationem*, after the analogy of *arma sumere*. — **coloniam**: Camalodunum; see on 5. 3. Londinium and Verulamium (St. Albans) were also destroyed. It was a national Vesper, like that of Mithradates, and the number of victims was not less than 70,000. Cf. Ann. XIV. 31–39. See Merivale, VI. 46; Momms. Prov. I. 196. — **ira et victoria**: not hendiadys.

2. **tenentibus**: abl. absolute, with concessive sense. — **plerisque**: see on 1. 3. — **proprius**: used of that which is peculiar to one or to a few. Here *proprius timor* is the fear which they felt

especially, because they had offended more than others. It means *peculiar* or *special*. Cf. Ann. III. 67, *proprio in metu*. — **ne**: explanatory, showing wherein the fear consisted. Cf. Hist. II. 26, *timuisse se tantum laboris atque itineris, ne miles . . . fessos aggrederetur*. — **cetera**: such adverbial accusatives are very rare in classical Latin. See Schmalz, Lat. Gr. p. 415; A. & G. 240, b; G. 332; H. 378, 2. Tacitus uses them more frequently. Cf. Ger. 17. 1; 29. 4; 45. 7. — **deditos**: like a conditional sentence (*si se dedidissent*). See A. & G. 310, a; G. 670; H. 549, 2. — **ut suae**: *ut*, in the sense of *tamquam*, is to be connected with *suae*; *avenging every wrong as if it were his own.*

3. **Petronius Turpilianus**: governor of Britain, A.D. 62–64. On his return, he received the insignia of a Triumph, and in A.D. 68 was put to death by Galba in Rome. — **tamquam**: this indicates the reason which was supposed to be the true one. The real reason for the recall of Paulinus was a calumny originating with the procurator Classicianus, who was his enemy. Cf. Ann. XIV. 38. — **exorabilior**: found in the comparative only here and in Sen. Clem. I. 20. — **novus**: with dat., as in Sil. VI. 254, *novusque dolori*, "unacquainted with," or "a stranger to." — **paenitentiae**: a dat., the abstract for concrete *paenitentibus*. — **prioribus**: neuter. — **Trebellio Maximo**: consul with Seneca in A.D. 58; in 61, member of the census commission in Gaul; governor of Britain, 64–69.

4. **nullis . . . experimentis**: abl. of quality. — **curandi**: used absolutely, as in Ann. XI. 22, *qui Romae curarent*; so in Sallust. Tacitus also has, *curare provinciam*, *exercitum*, *legiones*, instead of *regere*. — **ignoscere**: the *in privativum* is not compounded with verbs. Hence *ignoscere* cannot = *non noscere*. It rather means *to look into*, *to view with favor*. — **vitiis**: is a dative. See A. & G. 227; G. 345; H. 385, II. — **civilium armorum**: the wars for the succession after Nero's death. See on 7. 2.

5. **discordia**: this was a quarrel between Trebellius and Roscius Caelius, the commander of the 20th legion. See on 7. 3. — **precario**: *on sufferance*; he maintained a doubtful authority. — **velut**: *as it were*. — **pacti**: sc. *sunt*, agreeing with *exercitus* and *dux*. — **stetit**: like *substitit*; *came to a stop*. Cf. Ann. XII. 22, *ira Agrippinae citra ultima stetit*; Hist. IV. 67, *belli impetus stetit.*

6. **Vettius Bolanus**: governor of Britain A.D. 69. See on 8. 1. — **nisi quod**: indicating an exception to what goes before. See on 6. 2.

17. 1. **reciperavit**: i.e. when Vespasian restored to unity the Empire which had been torn by civil war. — **Petilius Cerialis**: governor of Britain A.D. 71–74. — **Brigantum**: the Brigantes occupied the north of England, as far as Scotland. About the year 50 they had submitted to Ostorius. After the year 70, they were involved in a civil war which arose between the king, Venutius, and his disloyal wife, Cartimandua. Cf. Hist. III. 45, *et cohortes alaeque nostrae variis proeliis exemere tamen periculo reginam; regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.*

2. **aut victoria . . . aut bello**: i.e. *aut vicit aut bello petiit.*

3. **alterius successoris**: i.e. Cerialis would have thrown into the shade the labor and fame of any other successor; but Frontinus was equal to the task. — **Iulius Frontinus**: consul in A.D. 74; governor of Britain A.D. 75–77; died about A.D. 103. We have his treatise *de aquis urbis Romae*, which he wrote when superintendent of the public works, and also the *Strategemata*, in three books. — **quantum licebat**: not to be referred to *vir magnus*, since the times of Vespasian were not unfavorable to virtue, but rather qualifying *sustinuit*. — **Silurum**: see on 11. 1. — **eluctatus**: used first by Vergil in poetry and after Livy in prose.

18. 1. **media iam aestate**: A.D. 78. The season was late for beginning a campaign. — **omissa**: i.e. for this year.

2. **Ordovicum**: in North Wales. — **alam**: a division of auxiliary cavalry. — **agentem**: *quartered*, or *stationed*. — **provincia**: the excitement of the uprising affected the province. — **quibus**: refers to *ii* understood, which is the subject of the historical infinitive *probare*. — **volentibus**: a Greek idiom, used also in Hist. III. 43, Ann. I. 59, in imitation of Sallust. See A. & G. 235, c; G. 354, R; H. 387, 3. — **animum**: *spirit.*

3. **transvecta**: a rare use of the word, for *transacta* or *praeterlapsa.* Found in this figurative sense only here and in Hist. II. 76. — **numeri**: a common term, in post-Augustan Latin, for divisions of troops. — **tarda et contraria**: in apposition with the preceding phrases. — **potius**: predicate adjective.

4. **vexillis**: the same as *numeri* above.

The general name for a standard was *signum*. Each cohort had its own special *signum*, and these were of various forms. The standards carried by cavalry, light-armed infantry, and detachments detailed for special service were simple banners, *vexilla*. The *vexillum* was a square of cloth fastened to a transverse bar at the top of a staff. The name was sometimes transferred, as here, from the symbol to the troops serving under it.

— **erexit aciem**: *led his troops up the hill.* More fully expressed in 36, *erigere in colles aciem coepere.*

5. **instandum**: sc. *esse.* — **ceteris**: dative masculine. — **Monam**: see on 14. 4.

6. **ut in dubiis**, etc.: the sentence is elliptical, *as happens in plans not fully matured.* When Agricola entered Britain he had not planned the attack upon Mona. — **auxiliarium**: probably Batavians who were serving among Agricola's auxiliaries. Cf. 36. They were practiced swimmers. Cf. Ann. II. 8. — **vada**: used in a general sense. The straits of Menai, between England and Anglesea, are in some places not more than 200 yards wide. — **seque et**: in this form of co-ordination, which is found in every period of Latin, Tacitus, like Sallust, almost always unites the *-que* with *se*, *sibi*, or *ipsi;* in Livy it is but once attached to a pronoun. Cf. XXV. 14. 5, *seque et cohortem.* — **qui**: the repetition of the relative (anaphora) strengthens the impression as to the surprise of the Britons. — **crediderint**: see A. & G. 287, c; G. 513; H. 495. 6. — **venientibus**: dative with *arduum.*

7. **officiorum ambitum**: *a round of public ceremony.* — **placuisset**: for the mood, see A. & G. 320, e, n. 1; G. 636; H. 517, 3, 1.

8. **laureatis**: sc. *litteris.* In this sense *laurea* is used in Hist. III. 77 and Plin. Pan. 8. Cf. Plin. N. H. XV. 133, *laurus Romanis praecipuae laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur litteris.* — **aestimantibus**: Draeger calls it an abl. absolute. More probably a dative, like *aestimanti.* See on 11. 3.

19. 2. **domum**: including his assistants, his retinue, etc.

3. **nihil**, etc.: sc. *egit.* The ellipsis of verbs of motion and action is not infrequent in Tacitus. See Draeg. Syntax und Stil, § 35. — **libertos**: such upstarts often used their power tyrannically. — **ascire**: it refers to the detail of soldiers for special official duty. They made a *cohors accensorum*, and inasmuch as they

were relieved from general military duty, were called *beneficiarii.* — **exsequi**: i.e. *ulcisci*, *punire.*

4. **officiis et administrationibus**: perhaps referring to more responsible positions than those mentioned above. — **circumcisis**: abl. absolute with *iis* supplied.

5. **Namque**, etc.: the following passage is a difficult one, but is generally regarded as describing two methods which the Romans used to extort money from the natives. First, when the Britons who had no corn wished to give a cash equivalent, the Romans refused it, and compelled them to buy corn from the Roman granaries at a price which the Romans fixed. This was making a farce of the transaction, since the corn for which the Britons had paid an excessive price still remained in the Roman granaries. A second method was adopted with the Britons who had corn enough and were ready to deliver it. In this case the Romans designated as the place of delivery some distant and inaccessible region. The Britons were therefore again forced to commute for the grain at a price fixed by the Romans. The Romans were determined to have the money, and took these oppressive measures to extort it. — **horreis**: sc. *Romanorum.* — **devortia itinerum**: *places lying out of the regular roads.* — **proximis hibernis**: abl. absolute, with a concessive sense. — **quod omnibus**: by *quod* is meant the furnishing of the required grain. Verres resorted to the same methods in Sicily. Cic. Verr. II. 1. 95.

20. 1. **Haec**: the evils just described. — **famam paci circumdedit**: *he invested peace with great glory.* See A. & G. 225, d; G. 348; H. 384, II. 2. — **intolerantia**: *intolerable arrogance.*

2. **aestas**: A.D. 79. — **modestiam**: i.e. *modestos*, *the obedient.* — **disiectos**: *the stragglers.* — **quo minus**: adversative, instead of *quin*, as in 27. 3; Hist. II. 45. See A. & G. 319, c; G. 549; H. 499, 3, n. 2.

3. **ex aequo**: *independent.* See on 1. 2. — **circumdatae**: sc. *sunt.* — **pariter inlacessita**: *so peacefully.* The manuscripts do not have the word *pariter.* *Inlacessita* was coined by Tacitus and is found only here and in Ger. 36. 1. — **transierit**: sc. *ad Romanos.* The *terminus ad quem* is generally added.

21. 1. **hiems**: A.D. 79–80. — **in bella faciles**: i.e. *proni*, *parati ad bella*, as in Ann. XIV. 4, *ad gaudia;* Ovid, A. A. I. 592, *faciles*

ad fera bella manus. — **quieti et otio**: see on 6. 4. — **publice**: i.e. *ex aerario publico.* — **templa fora**: asyndeton. See A. & G. 208, b; G. 483. 2; H. 554. I. 6. — **castigando**: i.e. *graviter vituperando.*

2. **iam vero**: see on 9. 3. — **studiis**: *industry;* as if the Gauls had no intellectual brightness.

3. **toga**: the characteristic Roman garb.

The Romans had for many years encouraged the Romanizing process among the newly conquered peoples. The use of the Latin language had been in some matters insisted upon, and in all respects encouraged. The wearing of the toga was allowed even to non-Romans, and was regarded as a sign of a loyal disposition. See Mommsen's Provinces, I. 77.

— **discessum**: i.e. from their native simplicity. — **balinea**: in plural generally feminine. — **idque . . . humanitas**: neglected attraction, for *eaque . . . humanitas.* — **humanitas**: *civilization.* — **cum**: concessive.

Though the Romans, during four centuries, left abundant material traces of their occupation of Britain, yet the traces of their language left in the island are very meager. Such words as *castra, strata, colonia, fossa, portus*, and *vallum* comprise almost the entire linguistic inheritance of England from the Roman occupation. Skeat's Principles of Engl. Etymol., 1st series, p. 432, gives as the list of words which came from the Latin during the first period (before A.D. 500) the following: *mile*, *pine* (verb), *pool*, *port*, *street*, *wall*, *wick* (a town), *wine.* For the transient influence of Rome upon Britain, see Freeman, Norman Conquest, I. pp. 11–14; Budinszky, Ausbreitung d. Lat. Spr. pp. 133–4. For the condition of things in the time of Hadrian, see Merivale, VII. 344; Momms. Prov. I. 211.

22. 1. **Tertius**: A.D. 80. The personification of *annus* is found in Cicero and Livy, and often in the Annals. *nox* and *aetas* are also personified. — **Tanaum**: not definitely known. It cannot be the Tay, north of Edinburgh. Many suppose that the Tyne is meant. Momms. Prov. I. 199, thinks it was the Firth of Tay. — **quamquam**: see on 1. 1. — **ponendis . . . castellis**:

Agricola built a line of forts here which were afterward, in part at least, used by Hadrian in building his great wall. Mommsen (Provinces, I. 202) says this wall of Hadrian is more completely known than any other of the great military

structures of the Romans. It is strictly a military road, protected on both sides by fortifications. The defense on the north is formed by a huge wall, originally 16 feet high and 8 feet thick. In front a fosse, 9 feet deep and 34 feet wide at the top. Toward the south the road is protected by two parallel earthen ramparts, even now from 6 to 7 feet high, between which is a fosse 7 feet deep. Between the stone wall and the earthen ramparts lie the camp stations and watch houses. Mommsen estimates that the garrison needed for this line of fortified posts would have been 10,000 or 12,000 men. Later, Antoninus Pius connected the Friths of Clyde and Forth with a wall. A chain of fortresses had already been laid out here by Agricola. The wall of Antoninus was earthen, with a fosse in front and a road behind. The northern wall was not intended to take the place of the structure of Hadrian. The two walls continued side by side. The structure which the Emperor Severus built was only a completing or strengthening of the wall of Antoninus.

2. **pactione**: *capitulation.* — **crebrae eruptiones**: they did not merely stand on the defensive, but took the field. — **annuis**: *enough for a year.*

3. **intrepida**: sc. *fuit*, *free from alarm.* — **quisque**: not the soldiers, but the commanders of the strongholds. — **irritis**: *baffled.* Here applied to persons. Cf. Ann. III. 21, *irritum fessumque Romanum.* — **pensare**: *to make good*, like *compensare.* — **iuxta**: i.e. *pariter.* So used by Sallust and Livy.

4. **intercepit**: in this sense (*to appropriate unjustly*) used by Cic. Agr. 2. 2, *vester honos . . . interceptus.* — **centurio**: an officer of the legion. — **praefectus**: commander of auxiliary cohorts. — **incorruptum**: *impartial.*

5. **secretum**: i.e. no hidden grudge remained in his heart. Cf. Ann. I. 69, *accendebat haec . . . Seianus peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet, auctaque promeret.* For Domitian's habit, cf. 42. 4, *quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior.*

23. 1. **Quarta aestas**: A.D. 81. — **obtinendis**: the dat. of the gerundive with *insumere* is also found in Ann. III. 1; II. 53; XVI. 23. Such datives, rare in the earlier works of Tacitus, become more and more common as his style develops; see on Ger. 11. 2. — **inventus**: sc. *erat.*

2. **Clota et Bodotria**: the Friths of Clyde and Forth. — **diversi**: on the west the Irish Sea, and on the east the North Sea. — **revectae**: i.e. penetrating inland. The word may have the idea that the current of the river is forced back by the tide. — **angusto**: about thirty miles wide. — **propior**: sc. *Romanis.* — **sinus**: the winding shore of a bay.

24. 1. **Quinto**: A.D. 82. — **nave prima**: there is much discussion as to what *prima navis* means. Probably the meaning is simply, as soon as navigation opened. In order to surprise the enemy he avoided the long march by land. — **in spem**: i.e. of the advantage which might result.

2. **si quidem**: first found in Cicero, and has at times a causal meaning, like *quoniam*. The mood generally is the indicative, but in later Latin the subjunctive is often found. — **valentissimam . . . partem**: i.e. Spain, Gaul, and Britain. — **miscuerit**: i.e. *coniunxerit*. The subjunctive may be intended to express Tacitus' view as to Agricola's plan.

3. **nostri maris**: the Mediterranean, which received this name only in very late Latin. — **differt**: the verb agrees in number with the nearest substantive, though connected with all. The idea is that these features of the two islands are nearly the same, Ireland having a little the advantage.

4. **in occasionem**: i.e. with a view to some opportunity of invading Ireland. Claudius had a similar pretext for invading Britain. See on 13. 5.

5. **ex eo**: sc. *Agricola*. — **debellari**: i.e. *devinci*. First used in Vergil, and after Livy's time in prose. — **arma**: sc. *essent*. The subjunctive of *esse* is often omitted in Tacitus, especially if another subjunctive follows. In other authors the omission is rare, and in Cicero perhaps only in indirect questions. See Schmalz, Lat. Syntax in Iwan Müller's Handbuch, p. 399, 10. b.

25. 1. **Cęterum**: adversative. — **sextum . . . annum**: A.D. 83. — **amplexus**: i.e. in his mind or purpose. — **ultra**: i.e. *quae ultra agebant*. — **infesta**: *beset with danger*. — **hostilis exercitus**: i.e. the Roman army. — **in partem virium**: *as a part of his force*. — **simul . . . simul**: first found in Caes. B.G. IV. 13. Cf. 36. 1; 41. 5. — **bellum impelleretur**: a newly coined phrase. Tacitus has given great variety to military expressions.

2. **mixti copiis et laetitia**: *sharing their supplies and their enjoyment*. Cf. 4. 4. — **victus**: may also go with *terra et hostis*.

3. **tamquam**: in Tacitus, often has a causal meaning giving the view or statement of another; cf. Ger. 12. 2; 20. 4.

4. **potius quam**: without *ut;* in early Latin the *ut* was not expressed; while in post-Augustan Latin it is generally found.

See Schmalz, Lat. Gram. § 258. See A. & G. 332. 3. b; G. 647. 4; H. 502. 2.

5. **et ipse**: only twice so found in Cicero; not in Caesar or Sallust; common in Livy. Tacitus has it in all his writings. See on Ger. 37. 3, *amisso et ipse Pacoro*.

26. 2. **vestigiis**: an ablative of place. — **adsultare**: post-Augustan for *impetum facere*.

3. **securi**: found also with *pro*, Hist. IV. 58, *having no fears for their safety*. — **quin etiam**: anastrophe, in imitation of Vergil. Cf. Ger. 3. 4; 8. 2; 34. 3. — **utroque exercitu**: i.e. the two portions of the Roman army, — the besieged and the relieving force.

27. 1. **fremebant**: the plural with a collective subject. Tacitus also has a plural verb with such words as *pars*, *multitudo*, *plebs*, *vulgus*.

2. **illi modo cauti**: those mentioned in 25. 5, as *ignavi specie prudentium*. — **uni**: sc. *duci*.

3. **quo minus**: see on 20. 2. — **discessum**: sc. *est; the armies withdrew*.

28. 1. **Usiporum**: Caesar, B. G. IV. 1, calls them *Usipetes*. They first appear in B.C. 55, when they tried to invade Gaul. Tacitus, in Ger. 32. 1, places them on the right bank of the lower Rhine. This cohort belonged, perhaps, to the force which Agricola had stationed over against Ireland. Cf. 24. 1.

2. **ad tradendam disciplinam**: the reference is to drill-masters who taught the recruits military evolutions and the use of arms. — **manipulis**: the complement of the maniple was 200 men. — **liburnicas**: fast-sailing vessels, like the pirate galleys of the Illyrian coast. — **praevehebantur**: for *praeter vehebantur*. They sailed around the north of Scotland.

3. **Mox ad aquandum**, etc.: the passage is corrupt and has been variously emended. The manuscripts have, *mox ad aquā. Atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque*. — **inopiae**: partitive genitive with *eo*. — **vescerentur**: the only case of *vescor* with the accusative in Tacitus. Neither Plautus nor Terence use *vescor*. The classical construction is with the ablative. With the accusative it is archaic, then poetical and in Silver Latin.

4. **amissis . . . navibus**: i.e. the two ships which were with-

out pilots. — **Suebis**: a great confederacy occupying Southern and Central Germany; see on Ger. 38. 1. — **Frisiis**: see on Ger. 34. 1. They dwelt in North Holland. Some of the Usipi were captured by the Suebi, and some by the Frisii. — **in nostram**: the left bank of the Rhine. — **inlustravit**: the indicative after *fuere quos*. The subjunctive would express a general characteristic. The indicative is a more definite statement in which *fuere quos* is somewhat like *quosdam*. The only other instance of the indicative in Tacitus is Dial. 31. Cf. Hor. Od. I. 1. 3, *sunt quos . . . iuvat*.

29. 1. **aestatis**: A.D. 84. — **ambitiose**: i.e. with affected indifference. — **rursus**: *on the other hand*.

2. **montem Graupium**: the name is not mentioned by any other ancient writer.

The *recensio Puteolani* gives the form *Grampium*, and the Scotch antiquaries have given the name to the mountain range between Perth and Inverness. But the Mons Graupius of Tacitus was evidently only a hill, and not a conspicuous mountain. Moreover, it was near the coast, as is seen from the expression *praemissa classe*. In the "Antiquary," cap. IV., Sir Walter Scott makes fun of the too zealous antiquarians who see everywhere traces of camps and battles. For the geography see Bunbury, Hist. Anc't Geography, II. 491; Skene's Keltic Scotland, I. p. 52. In this battle there were engaged, beside the four legions, 8000 infantry and 3000 horsemen of the auxiliary soldiers. See Momms. Prov. 1. 206.

3. **pugnae prioris**: i.e. of the former year. Cf. 26.

4. **cruda ac viridis senectus**: the phrase is found in Vergil, Aen. VI. 304. — **decora**: *badges of honor*, such as rewards for courage, or spoils taken from the enemy.

30. 1. **necessitatem**: *desperate condition*. — **animus**: *confidence*.

2. **securum**: *free from danger*, as applied to objects, not found till after the Augustan age, and rare for the classical *tutus*.

3. **Priores pugnae**: in which other Britons had fought with the Romans. — **eoque**: this is the Ms. reading, which has been changed, without improvement, to *iique*. *Eoque* gives a reason why the *nobilissimi* (aborigines or autochthones) should be found in the *penetralia*. — **servientium**: i.e. Gallorum. See on 4. 4. — **oculos quoque**: this suggests, "not only our bodies, but" *oculos quoque*.

4. **sinus famae**: with the Romans, *in sinu esse* meant to be in

a place of safety or protection. Hence Kritz interprets the words, *the safeguard of our fame;* i.e. for invincible courage. This is better than Draeger's *concealment of our fame.* — **infestiores**: sc. than the waves and rocks. — **effugeris**: see A. & G. 311, a; G. 250; H. 485.

5. **vastantibus**: dat. with *defuere*, having *cuncta* for its object.

6. **Auferre**, etc.: the infinitives are used substantially as objects of *appellant.* For the sentiment, cf. Sen. Clem. 1. 26. 4, *inicere tectis ignem, aratrum vetustis urbibus inducere, potentiam putat.* — **ubi solitudinem**, etc.: imitated by Byron in his Bride of Abydos, cant. 2, 20, "*He makes a solitude and calls it peace.*"

31. 1. **alibi servituri**: i.e. to serve in other regions in the Roman army.

2. **ager atque annus**. the expression is rhetorical. There are three items mentioned, each composed of pairs, and *ager atque annus* is used to keep up the parallel. *Annus* is the *yearly produce*, as in Ger. 14. 5. — **silvis . . . emuniendis**: *in making roads through woods and swamps.* The regular expression for making a road was *munire viam.* Cf. Liv. IX. 29; XXI. 37. The Roman roads were raised above the level of the ground and were like a rampart. See Arnold, Prov. Ad. p. 16. — **mancipia**: originally the word denoted a formal method of purchase; see Hadley's Roman Law, p. 85. Then it was applied to property transferred by this form, and in later times generally used of slaves. — **ultro**, *moreover;* i.e. instead of supporting their masters (as the Britons were doing), were supported by their masters.

3. **familia**: *the slave retinue.* — **nobis**: i.e. we have no lands, etc., as the other Britons have. — **quibus exercendis**: *for employment upon which.* See on 23. 1.

4. **secretum**: *remoteness.*

5. **Brigantes femina duce**: sc. Boudicca. Cf. 16. 1. In Ann. XIV. 31, where the account of the uprising is given, the Trinobantes are mentioned, and not the Brigantes. Probably Calgacus mentions here the Brigantes as having been active in the revolt and as being near the Caledonian border. — **potuere**: the perfect indicative is very rare with Tacitus in such conditional clauses. It has its natural force with *exurere* and *expugnare*, while with *exuere* it is like *valuissent.* For the imperfect indicative in such clauses, see on 4. 5.

32. 2. **nisi si**: with an ironical meaning, like *nisi forte*. — **pudet dictu**: this construction is without parallel, after the analogy of *pudendum dictu*. See Draeg, Syntax und Stil. § 218; A. & G. 303; G. 437; H. 547.

3. **ac terror**: sc. *quo tenentur*. Cf. Burke's Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol: "bodies tied together by so unnatural a bond of union as mutual hatred are only connected to their ruin." — **alia**: i.e. other than Rome. Many of the Roman soldiers were foreigners who served as auxiliaries.

4. **ignota omnia**: in apposition with the preceding.

5. **nostras manus**: sc. troops in sympathy with us; primarily Britons, but also Gauls and Germans. — **Britanni**: i.e. those forced to fight in the Roman ranks. — **tam quam**: to be written separately, not *tamquam*. Here like *quemadmodum*. Cf. Brix, Trin. 913, and Mil. 984, *quae te tam quam oculos amet*.

6. **ultra**: i.e. if we gain this battle. — **coloniae**: see on 5. 3. — **municipia**: for the difference between the *colonia* and the *municipium*, see Arnold, Prov. Ad. p. 220, and Gell. XVI. 13.

7. **metalla**: i.e. labor in the mines.

33. 1. **moris**: predicate genitive. See A. & G. 214, d; G. 365; H. 403. Cf. 39. 1; 42. 5. *moris est* is not found earlier than Vell. II. 40. 3. — **acies**: i.e. of the Caledonians.

2. **octavus annus**: as Agricola entered Britain in midsummer of the year 78 (cf. 18. 1), this was the end of the seventh year; but as the year was completed, the orator naturally takes advantage of that fact. See Merivale, VII. p. 76, n. — **auspiciis**: under the Empire the *auspicia* belonged to the Emperor. Even when the *legatus* won a victory, the auspices and the triumph belonged to the Emperor. Augustus subdued various countries, *partim ductu, partim auspiciis suis*. Suet. Aug. 21. — **Tot expeditionibus**: ablative of time and circumstance, in connection with *paenituit*.

5. **in aperto**: see on 1. 2. — **victoribus . . . victis**: these have the force of conditions.

6. **decorum**: sc. *est*, predicate adjective. The infinitive phrases are the subject. — **in frontem**: *so long as we are advancing*; equivalent to *progredientibus*, and so in contrast with *fugientibus*. — **mihi decretum est**: *I have made up my mind*.

34. 1. **decora**: *glorious deeds.* The sense is different from 29. 4. — **furto noctis**: i.e. *insidiis nocturnis.* — **unam legionem**: i.e. the ninth. Cf. 26. 1. — **ceterorum . . . fugacissimi**: perhaps a confusion of two constructions, — *ceteris Britannis fugaciores* and *omnium Britannorum fugacissimi*; see "The History of Language," by Strong, Logeman & Wheeler, p. 149.

2. **penetrantibus**: sc. *nobis.* — **ruere**: perfect. The plural verb with *quisque* is found in Tacitus. Cf. Ann. XII. 43.

3. **novissimae res**: *their desperate condition.* — **ederetis**: subjunctive in a final clause. See A. & G. 317. 2; G. 632; H. 497.

4. **Transigite**: *have done with.* Cf. Ger. 19. 3; 22. 2. — **quinquaginta annis**: he uses rhetorically the round number. Strictly but 42 years; i.e. A.D. 43–84. See on 13. 5.

35. 1. **discursum**: sc. *est.* *They rushed off to take up arms.* Cf. Livy, V. 36, *ad arma discurritur.* — **mediam . . . firmarent**: *made a solid centre*; see on 14. 4.

2. **octo milium**: genitive of measure or quality; see A. & G. 215; G. 364; H. 396, v. — **victoriae**: a dative having the force of a condition. See on 33. 5. It is evidently in contrast with *si pellerentur.* — **decus**: in apposition with the preceding clause. — **citra**: see on 1. 3. — **in speciem**: *in order to make an imposing appearance.* Cf. 5. 2; 8. 3. — **media campi**: i.e. between the Britons and the Romans. Such genitives depending on a neuter plural of the adjective are very common in Tacitus. Cf. 37. 1; Ger. 41. 1; 43. 2. — **covinnarius**: see on 12. 1. The addition of *eques* here merely indicates the contrast to *pedites.* The meaning is the same as *covinnarii.*

3. **porrectior**: *too extended.* — **adversis**: dative; i.e. *steadfast against adversity.* — **vexilla**: see on 18. 4.

36. 1. **simul . . . simul**: see on 25. 1. — **caetris**: an instrumental ablative; by some regarded as an ablative of characteristic, describing the *Britanni.* The *caetra* was a small Spanish shield. It was like the target of the Highlanders, to which Tacitus perhaps refers here. — **Batavorum**: here used like an adjective, *the Batavian cohorts.* The Batavi are first mentioned by Caesar. They occupied the Rhine delta. They were in subjection, and yet had certain privileges. They furnished more troops for the Roman army than any other German canton; viz.: 1000 cavalry, 9000 in-

fantry, and also the Imperial bodyguard. See on Ger. 29. 1. See Momms. Prov. I. 130. — **Tungrorum**: they were a part of the Belgae. — **duas**: sc. *cohortes.* — **quod**: sc. which style of fighting.

2. **in arto**: *at short range.* See on 1. 2. — **miscere ictus**: *inflicted blows at close quarters.* — **ora fodere**: *to strike at the face.* Gerber and Greef support this reading. — **stratis**: ablative absolute with the antecedent of *qui.* — **erigere . . . aciem**: see on 18. 4. — **ceterae cohortes**: i.e. of the auxiliaries.

3. **equitum**: sc. *Romanorum.* — **peditum**: sc. *Romanorum.* The cavalry stationed on the wings, after the war-chariots had been driven back, came to the assistance of the infantry fighting in the centre. — **hostium**: the Britons.

4. **transversos**, etc.: the Romans are referred to.

37. 1. **vacui**: *free from apprehension.* — **vincentium**: sc. *Romanorum.* — **coeperant, ni . . . opposuisset**: i.e. *circumire incipiebant et re vera circumissent, ni . . . opposuisset.* See on 4. 5. — **equitum alas**: i.e. the auxiliary cavalry. — **subita belli**: see on 35. 2.

2. **in ipsos versum**: i.e. the Britons, who had intended to surround the Romans, were themselves attacked in the rear. — **transvectaeque**: the *que* has an explanatory force, like *nam.* The following description, which would serve for any bloody struggle, is very similar to Sall. Jug. 101. Tacitus is not happy or exact in describing military evolutions. Momms. Prov. I. 197. n, calls him "the most unmilitary of all authors." See also ib. I. 59. n.

3. There is a double contrast. *Catervae* is opposed to *paucioribus*, and *armatorum* to *inermes.* — **praestare**: unusual for *praebere*, *dare*.

5. **frequens ubique**: *everywhere present.* — **indaginis**: the word describes a plan which hunters adopted to catch game, by surrounding a wood with nets, dogs, and beaters. — **artiora**: sc. *loca.* In contrast with *rariores silvas*, i.e. *the less densely wooded places.* — **dimissis equis**: an ablative absolute, or of quality. See on 36. 1. — **persultare**: *to scour.* The word is properly used only of the cavalry, and is used by zeugma with *cohortes.*

6. **versi**: sc. *sunt.* — **vitabundi in vicem**: *avoiding one another.*

38. 1. **trahere**: an unusual group of ten historical infinitives. —**ultro**: applied often to the doing of something unexpected or extreme, *actually*. Cf. 42. 2, *ultro . . . interrogarent*, *actually asked him.*

2. [**aliqua**]: i.e. some few and feeble measures.—**separare**: *they acted independently.* —**pignorum**: *objects of affection.* Cf. Ger. 7. 3. —**tamquam**: Tacitus believed them driven to madness; by some *tamquam* is regarded as expressing a fictitious ground.

3. **secreti**: *deserted.*

4. **compertum**: sc. *est.* —**spargi**: *carried on in different places.* —**Borestorum**: the tribe is not elsewhere mentioned.

6. **unde**: connected with *lecto.* Fully expressed it would be, *quo, cum inde proximum Britanniae latus omne legisset, redierat.* The *Trucculensis portus* is not known. It must have been near the Frith of Forth. From here the fleet sailed north along the eastern coast far enough to determine that Britain was an island. Cf. 10. 4. See Bunbury's Anc't Geog. II. 492, n. 3.

39. 1. **epistulis**: the official report at the close of the year.— **ut Domitiano**, etc.: see on 33. 1. The subject of *excepit* is thrown into the subordinate clause, for *Domitianus, ut ei moris erat.*

2. **falsum . . . triumphum**: A.D. 83. See Dio Cass. 67. 4; Suet. Dom. 6; Ger. 37. 5. These writers speak contemptuously of the campaign. Mart. II. 2 sings the praises of the Emperor. Frontinus also speaks of the campaign in words of praise. Tacitus was not always fair to those of the emperors whom he detested. See Merivale, VII. 82. As the coins give to Domitian the title *Germanicus* after the beginning of the year 84, the campaign must have fallen in the year 83 and not 84, as generally stated. See Momms. Prov. I. 163.

3. **studia fori**: i.e. the eloquence of the bar.—**civilium artium**: these include the knowledge of state affairs and wisdom in deliberation in the Senate.—**in silentium acta**: cf. 2. 3. —**utcumque**: *in some way or other.* —**dissimulari**: *disregarded, ignored.*—**imperatoriam**: predicate adjective; *the characteristic of an emperor.* It was an age of soldier emperors. From the time of Galba the emperors had been nominated in the camp. Vespasian had risen to the throne in this way.

4. **secreto**: this refers to his secret and malignant purpose to

get rid of Agricola. He determined not to strike at him at once, but to bide his time. Contrast with Agricola's character, 22. 5. — **reponere**: *to lay aside.* — **impetus famae**: *the high tide of his popularity.* — **nam**: the reason of the Emperor's delay was that Agricola was still at the head of his army.

40. 1. **triumphalia ornamenta**: after A.D. 14 only the shadow of the triumph was granted to successful generals. These *ornamenta* were the *toga picta*, *tunica palmata*, *corona laurea*, *sella curulis*. In some cases the statue was added, which is here called *inlustris*, and elsewhere *laureata* or *triumphalis.* — **quidquid**: sc. *praeterea* or *aliud;* the *supplicatio* and the *sacra* are referred to. — **maioribus**: *men of special distinction.* Syria was a very wealthy province. After the partition of the provinces between the Emperor and the Senate, Syria was under imperial administration, and was in the East, like Gaul in the West, the central seat of civil and military control. Its governor had the command of four legions. See Momms. Prov. II. 128.

2. **si . . . foret**: the offer of Syria was to be used as a bribe, but not to be used unless necessary. — **ex ingenio**: in keeping with the Emperor's character. Tacitus not infrequently tells damaging stories about the worst of the emperors, though he will not vouch for their truth.

3. **Tradiderat**: A.D. 85. His successor is not known. — **brevi osculo**: for the kiss as a mark of imperial favor, cf. Ann. XIV. 56, *his adiecit* (Nero) *complexum et oscula.* The custom was owing, probably, to Oriental influence; see Rhein. Mus. XXXVIII. 566. — **servientium**: *courtiers.*

4. **penitus auxit**: *he carried as far as possible.* — **ambitionem**: *outward display.* — **quaererent famam**: *asked the reason for his fame.* — **interpretarentur**: sc. *eam.*

41. 1. **laudantes**: for the substantive use of present participle see on 4. 4.

2. **sileri**: *to be passed over in silence.* — **Moesia Daciaque**: the chronology of the Dacian wars is uncertain; probably the struggle here referred to was from A.D. 86 to 88. Domitian passed the time in idleness, while the valiant Dacian King Decebalus was inflicting ruinous defeat upon the legions. Dacia was finally conquered by Trajan. See Merivale, VII. 88; Momms. Prov. I. 238. — **per**: in

such double expressions, Tacitus frequently makes the ablative alternate with *per* and the accusative. Cf. 6. 2 ; 9. 5 ; Ger. 40. 1. — **expugnati** : the word is generally used of towns, strongholds, etc. Also found with a personal object ; Liv. XXXVII. 25, *Philippum et Nabim expugnatos ;* Hist. V. 12 ; Ann. I. 67. — **de limite** : for the meaning of *limes* see Momms. Prov. I. 132, n. and 166.

The *limes* of Upper Germany was 228 miles long. Not far from Stuttgart it is joined by the Raetian *limes*, which is 108 miles in length. The Upper Germanic *limes* was composed of forts about nine miles apart. It followed river courses as much as possible. The forts were connected where necessary by a wall, with a fosse on the outside and watch-towers within. The Raetian frontier-fence was a mere barrier formed by piling up quarry-stones. See Momms. Prov. I. 167. During the first century from seven to eight legions (at Nero's death ten) were stationed on the frontier. In the second century this force was reduced, so that in Trajan's time the two Germanies had but six legions, and under Hadrian but four. How early the *limes* in this form was constructed is a matter of doubt. The earliest inscription referring to it is A.D. 169. See on Ger. 29. 6.

— **ripa** : i.e. of the Danube, which was also a barrier of the Empire.

3. **damnis** : a dative. — **funeribus et cladibus** : the former may refer to family losses, and the latter to public disasters.

4. **dum** : a rare use with the imperfect indicative. The verb expresses the continued action. Cf. Hist. I. 1 ; Ann. XIII. 3. For mood and tense see A. & G. 276. e ; G. 571 ; H. 467. 4 ; Mvdg. 336. 2. — **amore et fide** : i.e. toward Domitian.

5. **simul . . . simul** : see on 25.1. — **in ipsam gloriam** : *to the very height of glory.* — **praeceps agebatur** : there is implied in the words his sudden rise to fame and also the danger connected with it.

42. 1. **Africae et Asiae** : these two were consular provinces, and each year the two ex-consuls who had been for the longest time out of office cast lots for the appointments. The rest of the provinces were praetorian. The office of proconsul was much superior in outward dignity to that of the imperial legate, but it had much less power. They had neither military authority, nor the power of life and death over any soldiers in their province. Their term of office was but a year. See on 7. 3. — **occiso Civica** : Civica had been proconsul of Asia, and was put to death by Domitian on a charge of treason. Cf. Suet. Dom. 10. — **consilium** : a warning to Agricola. — **exemplum** : a precedent for Domitian.

2. **ultro . . . interrogarent**: *they even ventured to ask him;* see on 38. 1. — **occultius**: *somewhat guardedly.* — **quietem et otium**: see on 6. 4. — **pertraxere**: *they forced him into going.*

3. **in adrogantiam compositus**: *putting on an air of haughtiness.* — **beneficii invidia**: what he appeared to do as a favor was really done from the basest motives. — **salarium**: the governors were regularly paid, and, therefore, had no excuse for extortion. The amount of the salary is not known. The proconsul of Africa had an income of a million sesterces ($50,000). Arnold's Prov. Ad. p. 115. — **proconsulari**: this is the reading of the Mss.; *vir proconsularis* is the same as *proconsul*, i.e. the governor of a senatorial province. — **offensus**: *offendi* with the acc. and inf. is found only here and Suet. Aug. 89.; Phaedr. IV. 11. 6.

4. **inrevocabilior**: in Tacitus ἅπαξ εἰρημένον for *implacabilis.* The word is quite rare, originally poetic, and first found in prose, Liv. XLII. 62.

5. **moris est**: see on 33. 1. — **inlicita**: *conduct in defiance of the laws.* — **plerique**: see on 1. 3. — **per abrupta**: *by precipitous ways*, i.e. *dangerous, defiant.* The reference may be to such men as Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, who by their ostentatious opposition and defiance invited death. Cf. Ann. XIV. 12; XVI. 26; Suet. Vesp. 15. See Merivale, VI. 167; VII. 30. The stoics were regarded by many as the "irreconcilables" under the Empire. — **ambitiosa morte**: *a death intended to invite applause.*

43. 1. **nobis**: i.e. his family. — **extraneis**: those not connected with the family. — **Vulgus**: *the lowest class, the rabble.* — **populus**: reputable citizens, but of the humbler class. Perhaps no real distinction is intended here. Cf. Dial. 75, *vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus.* — **aliud agens**: *inattentive* or *indifferent.* The formula *hoc age* was the common one in urging special attention to something. Hence *aliud agere* means, *to be inattentive.* Cf. Dial. 32. — **circulos**: *social circles.*

2. **constans**: a persistent and unrefuted report. Dio Cass., 66. 22, says expressly that he was killed by Domitian. — **nobis nihil comperti**: Tacitus evidently did not doubt the truth of the rumor, but, as there was no clear evidence, he leaves the reader to draw his own conclusion. See on 40. 2. *Comperti* is a partitive genitive.

3. **principatus**: i.e. the imperial court. — **medicorum intimi**:

cf. Ann. IV. 3, where the services of a physician are said to have been employed to secure the death of Drusus. — **illud**: *that conduct.* In such references the neuter of the pronoun is necessary. Cf. Ann. IV. 19, *quasi . . . illud res publica esset.*

4. **cursores**: Domitian was not at Rome, but at his Alban villa; see on 45. 2. — **prae se tulit**: *he manifested.* Cf. Ger. 39. 2. — **securus iam odii**: *unconcerned about his hatred.* He was sure of his victim, and no longer afraid. Hence he could control himself and put on an appearance of grief.

5. **coheredem**: probably to half of the estate; i.e. *ex dimidia parte.* — **piissimae**: Cicero, Phil. XIII. 19, ridicules Antony for using the superlative, and says there is no such form. — **honore iudicioque**: *a compliment and an unbiased judgment.* This method of giving a part to save the rest was not infrequently adopted under the Empire. Cf. Tac. Ann. XIV. 31; XVI. 17. It was stated to the credit of Augustus that he would not accept such bequests. Cf. Sen. Clem. 15. 4; Suet. Aug. 66. Plin. Pan. 43, rejoices in the fact that under Trajan, *testamenta nostra secura sunt.*

44. 1. **Gaio Caesare**: see on 4. 2. Caligula's third consulship was A.D. 40. Collega and Priscus were consuls A.D. 93. The manuscripts read, *VI° et L^{mo} anno.* The mistake in writing *VI* for *IV* would be easily made.

2. **gratia oris**: *a kindly expression.*

3. **integrae aetatis**: i.e. an age at which the physical powers are still unimpaired. — **quantum ad gloriam**: sc. *attinet.* Cf. Ger. 21. 4; Hist. V. 10, where the verb is also lacking. — **impleverat**: *he had fully attained.* — **triumphalibus ornamentis**: see on 40. 1.

4. **gaudebat**, etc.: i.e. *non multum tribuebat: he set no great value on large wealth.* Cf. Ger. 5. 2; 46. 3.

5. **sicuti . . . ita**: *although . . . yet.* — **augurio votisque . . . ominabatur**: equivalent to *augurabatur et vehementer optabat.* He had a presentiment of and a longing for the rise of such a man as Trajan. — **festinatae**: *untimely;* perhaps a reference to the suspicion of poison. — **tulit**: Draeger supplies *nobis*, and regards the infinitive clause as the subject of *tulit.* Kritz takes *tulit* as meaning *he received.* He regards the infinitive clause, *evasisse*,

etc., as the object of *tulit*, and *solacium* as an attributive accusative. — **spiramenta**: *pauses*, in which breath can be taken. In this sense found only here and in Ammianus. Cf. Amm. XXIX. 1. 40, *sumptum est de quibusdam sine spiramento vel mora supplicium.* — **uno ictu**: cf. Sen. de Ira, 3. 19, where Caligula is said to have wished that the Roman people had one neck, that he might destroy them at one blow. — **exhausit**: i.e. *perdidit*, *ruined*. The reference is, perhaps, to the death of so many distinguished men.

45. 1. **obsessam curiam**: this fact is not known from any other source. In Ann. XVI. 27, Nero is said to have adopted such methods to intimidate the Senate. — **eadem strage**: to be connected with what follows. — **consularium**: Suet. Dom. 10 gives the list of many senators put to death by Domitian, and among them some of consular rank. — **feminarum**: Plin. Ep. III. 11. 3; VII. 19, mentions Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia.

2. **Vna adhuc**: i.e. while Agricola was alive. — **Carus Metius**: one of the most infamous *delatores*, or informers. Messalinus and Massa Baebius throve by the same trade. Metius had intended to bring a charge against Pliny; see Ep. VII. 27. For the informers of this period, see Merivale, Hist. VII. p. 130. — **Albanam arcem**: the villa of Domitian, at the foot of the Alban hills. Cf. Juv. 4. 145. Here he sometimes convened the Senate or the *pontifices*. See Plin. Ep. IV. 11. 6. — **Messalini**: a base wretch, of whom Pliny says, Ep. IV. 22, *luminibus orbatus ingenio saevo mala caecitatis addiderat: non verebatur, non erubescebat, non miserebatur; quo saepius, a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quae et ipsa caeca et improvida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur.* — **Massa Baebius**: cf. Hist. IV. 50, *iam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus.* He was already impeached by Senecio and Pliny on account of his maladministration as procurator of Hispania Baetica, but was not yet condemned. Cf. Plin. Ep. VII. 33. 4. In the time of the Empire it was common to invert the ancient order of *nomen* and *cognomen*, as e.g. Drusus Claudius or Silvanus Plautius. — **nostrae . . . manus**: i.e. not worthless *delatores*, but *nos senatores*. Tacitus charges upon the entire Senate what one or two were guilty of. See Plin. Ep. IX. 13. 2; Hist. IV. 41. — **Helvidium**: the son of Helvidius Priscus; see on 2. 1. Suetonius says that he had offended Domitian by reference in a play to the Emperor's divorce. He was

put to death in prison; see Suet. Dom. 10. — **Maurici Rusticique**: they were brothers. The former was banished by Domitian, and the latter put to death. Both were friends of Pliny. Cf. Ep. I. 14; II. 18. — **Senecio**: see on 2. 1. — **perfudit**: this has both *visus* and *Senecio* as its subjects. With the former it is used by zeugma for *perculit*.

3. **ille**: *that well known*. For description of Domitian's countenance see Plin. Pan. 48, *ira in oculis, . . . in ore impudentia, multo rubore suffusa;* Suet. Dom. 18, *vultu ruboris pleno*. His countenance was naturally suffused, so that he was incapable of blushing.

4. **constans et libens**: *with courage and cheerfulness*. — **pro virili portione**: see the same expression in Hist. III. 20. Livy in his preface has, *pro virili parte*. The expression means, *so far as was in your power*.

6. **condicione**: *in consequence of*. Agricola died in A.D. 93. Tacitus had left Rome in the year 89, probably for the government of a praetorian province. He did not return to Rome until shortly after the death of Agricola.

46. 1. **lugeri . . . plangi**: the first is the feeling of grief; the second is the outward demonstration.

3. **praeceperim**: see on 10. 6 (*addiderim*). — **formamque . . . figuram**: the two words are often used to include the entire character of anything, *the spirit and fashion*.

4. **non quia . . . putem**: for the mood see A. & G. 341. R.; G. 541. R. 1; H. 516. II. 2. — **per**: for the interchange with the ablative see on 41. 2.

5. **fama rerum**: *the records of history*.

NOTES. — GERMANIA.

1. 1. **omnis**: *as a whole*. Cf. Caesar, B. G. I. 1, *Gallia est omnis divisa*. The boundaries given for *Germania Magna* or *Barbara* are geographical, not ethnographical. Tacitus makes no account of the *agri decumates*, which were Roman provincial territory, nor of the non-Germanic peoples who had settled in *Germania Magna*. Some tribes of German origin also dwelt on the left bank of the Rhine. Of these Tacitus speaks later, c. 28. The Roman provinces, *Germania inferior* and *superior*, are regarded as geographically belonging to Gaul. — **a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis**: the enclitic *-que* connects the words *Raetis et Pannoniis* with *Gallis*.

The names of the peoples are used rhetorically here for the countries. Under the *Raeti* the *Vindelici* are also included, whose country afterwards was called *Raetia secunda*, in contrast to *Raetia prima*, the region lying to the south. The nationality of the *Raeti* (the word is Keltic, and should not have the aspirate, see Schmalz, Lat. Gr. p. 252) was mixed, and along with this Keltic population there were Etruscan and Ligurian elements. In c. 6. 3, Tacitus mentions Noricum with Pannonia. Noricum lay east of Raetia, extending from the Aenus to Mt. Cetius. Tacitus knew the *Norica provincia*, but for rhetorical reasons omits it from the catalogue. The Pannonians dwelt south of the Danube, and extended to the Savus. They belonged to the Illyrian stock.

— **Rheno**: a Keltic word, incorrectly aspirated through Greek influence. See Schmalz, p. 252. — **Danuvio** (not Danubio): also Keltic, = *the swift*. In its lower part it is called the Hister. — **a Sarmatis Dacisque**: the *Sarmatae* are the S. Jazyges (i.e. the great), by whom the *Daci* were expelled from the angle between the Danube and the Theiss. They were certainly Indogermanic, but not Slavic. The whole boundary from the Daci to the ocean is left indefinite. The Daci were a Thracian people, occupying Roumania and Tran-

sylvania and extending from the Theiss to the Black Sea. — **mutuo metu aut montibus**: alliteration; a union of the real and imaginary. The *montes* are the spurs of the Carpathians which divided the Dacians from the Germans; *metus* formed the boundary against the Sarmatians. — **Oceanus**: the North Sea and the Baltic. — **sinus**: here referring to land (Jutland), as *complectens* shows. — **immensa**: not "immeasurable," nor "unmeasured," but equivalent to *magnus*. In Latin of this period the force of many expressions is weakened. Scandinavia was regarded as an island; and the islands of the German Ocean, though few in number, are of considerable size. — **nuper cognitis**, etc.: ablative absolute, explaining why Tacitus calls these islands *immensa*, and expressing the thought in a very loose way. *Nuper* is a relative term, and is thought to refer here to the campaign of Drusus, B.C. 12–9, or to the campaign under Tiberius, A.D. 5. — **gentibus ac regibus**: *tribes with and without kings*. This distinction must be kept in mind all through the Germania.

2. **Raeticarum**, etc.: *vertice* is best translated with the indefinite article. The description is not accurate. The principal source of the Rhine is the Vorderrhein, or western branch, originating in Lake Toma, east of the St. Gothard group, — a group belonging, not to the Raetian, but to the Pennine Alps — **modico flexu**: does not refer to any particular bend, but to the general westerly trend of the Rhine. — **versus**: a participle. — **miscetur**: cf. Ann. II. 6, *donec Oceano misceatur*. A marked contrast to *erumpat*, since the Danube holds its course for some distance visibly into the sea. The Rhine is at once lost in the ocean.

3. **molli et clementer**: the first is in contrast with *inaccesso*; the second, with *praecipiti vertice*. — **Abnobae**: the Black Forest. The word is Keltic, and means, "the mountain surrounded by water." The orthography is confirmed by an inscription found in the Black Forest, and also by the poet Avienus: *Abnoba mons Histro pater est, cadit Abnobae hiatu Flumen*, v. 437. — **pluris populos**: on the north bank, the occupants of the *decumates agri*, Narisci, Marcomani, Quadi, Daci; on the south, the Vindelici, Norici, Pannonii, Moesi. — **donec**: generally with the subjunctive in Tacitus. Cf., however, 37. 5; 45. 4; Agr. 26. 3; 36. 1. A. & G. 328, a, n.; G. 574; H. 519. Draeger, Syntax u. Stil, § 169.

"If the verb is in the present tense, Tacitus always uses the subjunctive; if in the perfect tense, the indicative." Prammer. Wölfflin says that with *donec* Tacitus uses the indicative or subjunctive, according to the tense; i.e. he has the present subj. 12 times; the imperfect subj. 70 times; the perfect indic. 41 times. — **meatibus**: a poetical expression. — **septimum**: Strabo speaks of seven mouths, Pliny of six; Tacitus explains the contradiction.

2. 1. **Ipsos Germanos**: in contrast with the land, just described; cf. Agr. 13. 1. — **indigenas**: has both the idea of *native born* and *aboriginal*. — **crediderim**: common with Tacitus to express a mild affirmation or a subjective view. A. & G. 311, b; G. 250; H. 486. In all such subjective expressions, Tacitus uses subjunctive forms in the singular; indicative forms in the Histories are in the plural; in the Annals, almost always in the singular. Draeg. Syntax u. Stil, § 28, b. — **adventibus et hospitiis**: *immigration and hospitable intercourse*. — **quia . . . advehebantur**: zeugma. Tacitus was led to a false conclusion through his knowledge of colonization along the shores of the Mediterranean. The Greek and Phoenician colonists travelled by sea; but the great migratory movements of the Indo-European peoples have been by land. Tacitus gives three reasons for his belief that the Germans were a pure, aboriginal people. — **quaerebant**: the imperfect, used of customary action. *Quaero* with infinitive is post-Augustan for *velle* or *studere*. — **immensus**: may have its literal meaning here. See on 1. 1. — **ultra**: is adverbial, and belongs with *Oceanus*. Cf. 19. 4, *cogitatio ultra*; Agr. 25. 1. — **ut sic dixerim**: is an apologetic phrase, always used by Tacitus for the classical *ut ita dicam*. It is first used by Quint. II. 13. 9. Cf. Agr. 3. 3. — **adversus**: is evidently used in a strange sense, as *ut sic dixerim* indicates. It intensifies the idea of *immensus*, and so cannot mean *hostile*. The idea is *antipodal; lying opposite to our part of the world*.

2. **praeter**: *to say nothing of*. Cf. Agr. 4. 4, *praeter integram naturam*. — **Asia aut Africa**: this refers only to the Roman provinces so named. — **peteret**: potential of the past. — **nisi si patria sit**: belongs only to the words just preceding; dismal for anyone, *except it be his fatherland*. *Nisi si* is often ironical (cf. Agr. 32. 2), though not so here. It is generally used with the indicative, and Bährens reads *est*. For the sentiment cf. Sen. Ep.

66. 26, *nemo enim patriam quia magna est amat, sed quia sua*, also Cic. de Amicit. 68.

3. **Celebrant carminibus antiquis**: such songs or poems were common among the Germans, and must have had a trustworthy historical element in them. Probably alliteration was a prominent feature. — **memoriae et annalium**: *tradition and history.* — **Tuistonem**: an account of the origin of man, to which is added an account of the origin of peoples. *Tuisto* contains the idea of duality. He is double-sexed. Such a twofold God is found among the Indians and Persians. Müllenhoff compares *Tuisto* to *Ymir* of the northern mythology. — **Mannum**: this indicates the original man. It is our word *man*, the German *mann*, the Hindu *menu*, the Greek *μίνως*; from the root *men*, *to think*. The Germans had a crude idea that man was the son of God. — **tris filios**: the hero names are given by Grimm as *Inguio*, *Iscio*, and *Irmino*. The Ingaevones represent the Saxons and adjoining tribes. The Herminones included the Hermunduri, Semnones, Marcomani (Thuringia). The Istaevones stretched from the Main to the mouth of the Rhine, and were later known as the Franks. These three divisions are mentioned before Tacitus, only by Pliny, N. H. IV. 14, and by no one after Tacitus. Tacitus does not refer to it again, showing that no historical importance was attached to it.

4. **Quidam, ut**, etc.: Schweizer-Sidler refers *Quidam* to Roman antiquarians, and translates *deo* with the indefinite article. Most critics, however, understand here a double tradition, the second enlarging upon the first, and refer *deo* either to *Mannus* or *Tuisto*. — **ut in licentia vetustatis**: *as is natural in the freedom which antiquity gives.* — **Marsos Gambrivios**, etc.:

The *Marsi* were found by Germanicus between the Ruhr and the Lippe. He subdued them, and afterward their name disappeared. The *Gambrivii* are mentioned once by Strabo. The first part of the name is the same as the second part of *Sugambri*. The *Suebi* (not *Suevi*) are variously located by different writers. Tacitus places them to the east, and gives to them a wide and indefinite territory. They are the chief element of the peoples of upper Germany. The *Vandilii* are the east and northeast Germans, who afterward abandoned German soil. The name means, *the border people.*

— **eaque vera**, etc.: *true* (in contrast with the *inventum nomen*) and *old* (in contrast with the *vocabulum recens*). — **Ceterum**, etc.:

this continues the statement of the *quidam*. It contrasts the true old names with the new name of the entire people. — **vocabulum**: used here of proper names, as in Sallust. — **additum**: not to add one name to another, but to introduce a new name. — **qui primi, etc.**: according to Caesar, B. G. II. 4, these were the Eburones, Condrusi, Caeroesi, Paemani. — **ac nunc Tungri**: sc. *vocantur*.

Germani was the name of a confederate people made up of the above-mentioned tribes. They were known as *Germani* when they first (*tunc*) crossed the Rhine, but in Tacitus' time (*nunc*) they were called *Tungri*. The name Germani, however, which had once been the name of a particular group of the people (*natio*), was gradually extended over the entire people (*gens*). Similar extensions of the use of tribal names are common; e.g. Saracens, Hellenes, Romans, Swiss, etc. It is not definitely said that the Germans were first so named in Gaul. The word, however, is neither German nor Latin, but probably Keltic. It has been variously explained. If Keltic, it is probably from *gairman, a shouter in battle.*

5. **Ita nationis nomen**, etc.: *ita = itaque; natio*, the part, in contrast with *gens*, the whole. — **a victore**: by the victorious German force which first crossed the Rhine. It is in contrast with *a se ipsis*, i.e. the entire people. — **ob metum**: not on account of the terror which the meaning of the name would inspire, but for the sake of the fear which would be awakened by the idea that all the tribes still dwelling beyond the Rhine were Germans and their kinsmen. — **a se ipsis**: this is to be connected with *vocarentur*. — **invento nomine**: *when the name had become current.*

The first people which crossed the Rhine were called Germans. They gave out that all the tribes east of the Rhine were also Germans, and these tribes gradually adopted for themselves this fictitious name. The name, however, must have been used only to distinguish them from foreigners. The Germans had no general name for themselves at that time. Gradually, in the tenth century, the name *Deutsch* became current, first of the language and then of the people. The absence of any common name is shown by the variety of names given to the Germans by other nations. The French call them *Allemani*, the Italians *Tedeschi*, the Danes *Tysk*. The English call the Netherlanders *Dutch*. See Grimm, Gesch. d. D. Spr. II. pp. 545–6; Waitz, Verfassungsgeschichte, I. pp. 30–31.

3. 1. **Herculem**: the *interpretatio Romana* (43. 4) must be applied to all that Tacitus tells us of the German gods. Hercules is *Donar* or *Thor*, who is armed with the hammer, as Hercules is armed with the club. — **memorant**: not the Germans, but the

same *quidam* (c. 2. 4). Hence we have *apud eos.* — **primumque omnium**, etc.: *as the first of all heroes.* These are songs before the battle. Cf. Ann. II. 88, (Arminius) *canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes.* — **haec . . . carmina**: for *haec* we might expect *talia* or *ea*, with a following subjunctive clause. These were sung at the beginning of the battle, and are different from the heroic ballads before mentioned. — **relatu**: *recital;* rarely used in this sense. — **barditum**: the only well-attested form of the word. It has nothing to do with the Keltic *bard*, but is from the Old Norse *bardhi*, a poetic name for shield. Amm., XVI. 12. 43, says of the shout of the Alamanni, *a tenui susurro exoriens, paulatimque adulescens, ritu extollitur fluctuum cautibus illisorum.*

2. **Terrent . . . trepidantve**: the contrast is feeble, but *trepidant* is probably used on account of the assonance. — **vocis**: instead of *voces* of the Mss. The contrast, by paronomasia, of *vocis* and *virtutis* emphasizes the kind of *concentus.* — **fractum**: *explosive*, or *reverberating* — **gravior**: *deeper.*

3. **Ceterum**: after a digression, Tacitus comes back to the main topic at the beginning of the chapter. — **fabuloso**: *storied.* — **in hunc Oceanum**: we should expect *illum;* but Tacitus refers to the ocean mentioned in 2. 1. *Hic* would generally be used of Italy and Rome; but Tacitus sometimes changes the pronouns. Cf. 10. 3. — **Asciburgium**: the modern Asburg, on the left bank of the Rhine. The name is doubtless German, and signifies a strong harbor. — **hodieque**: *and to-day also.* — **incolitur**: A. & G. 336, 2, b; G. 630, R. 1; H. 524, 2. — **nominatum**: not that it received *a* name from him, nor can the name *Asciburgium* be referred to Ulysses. Therefore some suppose an omission here of a name traceable to Ulysses.

4. **aram quin etiam**: in imitation of Vergil (Aen. VIII. 485), the particles *quin etiam* stand after the first word. Cf. 45. 4. — **Ulixi**: it is best regarded as a true dative, though by some held to be equivalent to *ab Ulixe.* The phrase *adiecto*, etc., which follows, suggests that the name of Ulysses appeared on the altar. — **monumenta**, etc.: *sepulchral mounds.* — **Graecis litteris**: by some taken literally. The Helvetians knew the Greek characters. Cf. Caes. B. G. I. 29. Others suppose Keltic characters, somewhat similar to the Greek. Schweizer-Sidler rejects the idea of Runic

characters, and regards the writing as North Etruscan, with a character like the Greek.

5. **ex ingenio suo**: *according to his personal inclination.* — **demat . . . fidem**: this corresponds to *refellere*, and *addere fidem* to *confirmare*. Cf. Livy, pref. 6, *ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est;* also V. 21. 9.

4. 1. **aliis aliarum**: pleonasm. Some editors reject *aliis*. It is probably used for emphasis: *through no sort of intercourse by marriage, with other tribes.* — **propriam et sinceram**: *peculiar and unmixed.*

2. **quamquam**: without a verb; common in post-Augustan Latin. Cf. Agr. 1. 1; 6. 3; 16. 2; 22. 1; 33. 1; 39. 1. — **truces et caerulei**: the two words are to be taken together. *Caeruleus* is the deep blue bordering on green or gray. Even the Gauls feared the wild look of the Germans and the fire of their eyes; cf. Caes. B. G. I. 39; Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere, Hehn, p. 430. — **rutilae**: the prevailing color was auburn or reddish yellow. — **magna corpora**, etc.: cf. 20. 1; Hist. IV. 1, where Tacitus says that after the capture of Rome, when the Flavians were sacking the city, unusual stature was thought a proof that a man was a German. In Suet. Calig. 47, it appears that Caligula picked out the tallest Gauls and made them dye their hair, so as to look like Germans. — **tantum**: restrictive, and placed before the emphatic word, as in 4. 1, *tantum sui similem.* For lack of endurance on the part of the Germans, cf. Sen. de Ira, I. 11. 13; Ann. II. 14.

3. **frigora atque inediam**: sc. *tolerare.* But it would be quite in keeping with the style of Tacitus to regard them as objects of *adsueverunt.*

5. 1. **silvis horrida**: such forests as the *Hercynia*, *Bacensis*, *Caesia*, and the *Saltus Teutoburgiensis.* — **umidior**: especially on the lower Rhine. — **aspicit**: *lies toward;* cf. Agr. 24. 1, *pars quae Hiberniam aspicit.* — **satis**: a dative from *sata*, *-orum*. Others regard it as an ablative. Oats, barley, and wheat were cultivated, but not rye. — **frugiferarum arborum**: the finer fruits were not introduced into Germany until much later. Tacitus mentions *agrestia poma* in 23. 1. The *frugifera arbor* of 16. 1 is different, probably so called according to the German idea. See Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere, p. 425. — **pecorum**: generally small cattle,

but here a general expression. — **improcera** : sc. *sunt pecora.* To avoid the awkward genitive *improcerorum*, the construction is suddenly changed. The adjective could not be referred to *terra.* For the German cattle, cf. Caes. B. G. IV. 2 ; VII. 65.

2. **suus** : *their own natural.* The cattle of southern Europe are larger and have longer horns than those of the north. — **numero gaudent** : their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. The Germans were not nomads, nor were they simply in the pastoral stage. They had some knowledge of agriculture. Not only among the Germans, but among the Greeks, Persians, Romans, etc., cattle served as a medium of exchange. Livy, XXIX. 31, says of the Numidians : *ea (pecora) pecunia illis est.* Language tells the same story, *pecus ; pecunia.* — **argentum** : Tacitus, Ann. XI. 20, mentions the fact that silver had been found among the Mattiaci. Caes., B. G. VI. 28, says that silver was used by the Germans to decorate the horns of the *Uri*, which were used for drinking-cups. Our names of these metals are German, and belong etymologically with the Slavic, and not with the Latin.

4. **haud perinde** : sc. *ac alii.* — **Est videre** : Draeger says *est* is equal to ἔξεστι, or *licet.* See Archiv f. Lat. Lex. II., p. 135. Müller's Handbuch, II., p. 482. Cf. Ann. XVI. 34, *ut coniectare erat.* — **non in alia vilitate** : the passage from Caes. B. G. VI. 28 seems to contradict this. Caesar, however, is speaking of the decoration of the spoils of the chase ; Tacitus is speaking of objects of luxury sent as presents by strangers. The contrast, *quamquam proximi*, etc., suggests that Tacitus is here speaking of the tribes in the interior.

5. **proximi** : sc. *Romanis* or *ripae.* — **ob usum commerciorum** : they sold hair, hides, feathers, soap, amber ; also slaves and the booty of war. — **formas** : the impression or device upon the coin.

6. **veterem et diu notam** : the coins which were notched (*serrati*) and stamped with a *biga* were the denarii of the Republic, in contrast with the lighter ones of Nero's time. Tacitus says that the Germans, as is the case with most barbarous nations, liked best the coins with which they had first become familiar, and also preferred silver money to gold, on account of its greater convenience in trade. — **nulla . . . animi** : *not on account of any prejudice*, sc. for silver, as compared with gold. — **facilior . . . est** : with two datives.

6. 1. **superest**: *to exist in abundance.* In 43. 2, Tacitus speaks of iron mines. Iron was imported from Gaul and Noricum. The Germans were not fully in the iron age.—**Rari**: the adjective used like an adverb is common in this period. Tacitus uses it more frequently than any other writer except Livy. Draeger, Hist. Syntax, I. p. 354.—**gladiis**: swords of different kinds were well known to the Germans. See 18. 1, the sword given as a present; 24. 1, the sword dance. But large swords, requiring much iron, would be scarce and valuable.—**lanceis**: these had a broad iron point, in contrast with the *framea.*—**frameas**: originally *framia.* It was used both for thrusting and hurling; perhaps furnished with a thong, so that it could be thrown and recovered.

2. **spargunt**: poetical. Cf. Verg. Aen. XII. 50, *ferrum spargimus;* VIII. 695, *ferrum spargitur.*—**singuli**: sc. *spargentes.*—**in immensum**: *to a great distance.* Cf. Agr. 23. 2, *per immensum.*—**nudi**: not *naked*, but *lightly clad.* Cf. 20. 1. *Nudus* is used of a Roman without his toga. The committee from the Senate found Cincinnatus *nudus* at the plough when they went to appoint him dictator. In order to receive this message in suitable dress, he ordered his wife *togam propere e tugurio proferre*, cf. Aur. Vict. 17; Livy, III. 26. See Vergil's advice to the farmer, Georg. I. 299, *nudus ara, sere nudus.*—**sagulo**: used not as a diminutive, but to mark it as the cheap and common garment. The passage means that they fight either without the *sagum*, dressed merely in the tunic, or dressed lightly in the *sagum*, so that it does not embarrass them.—**cultus**: here, *military decoration.*—**scuta**: cf. Ann. II. 14, *ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenues et fucatas colore tabulas.* The tribes were perhaps distinguished by the color of the shield. The Harii had black shields, 43. 6. The Frisian color was brown, the Saxon red, the Cimbric white. Later discoveries show that the shields were rectangular, or, in some cases, triangular. The Lemovii had round shields, 43. 7. The word *schild* is German, and not corrupted from *scutulum.*

3. **cassis aut galea**: *a metal or leather helmet.*—**Equi**: the native horses were small, but thoroughly broken and drilled; cf. B. G. IV. 2. Some of the tribes, as the Tencteri, were famous for their cavalry.—**variare gyros**: generally interpreted of a compli-

cated manœuvre in form like the figure ∞. Neither this phrase, nor the words *coniuncto orbe*, would suggest such a manœuvre as *wheeling*. Cf. Lucan, I. 425, *optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis*.

4. **In universum aestimanti**: *judging them on the whole.* Cf. Agr. 11. 3; see Draeger, Hist. Syntax, I. p. 433. This dative is, perhaps, in imitation of the Greek. It is sometimes falsely called a dative absolute. It is not found in Sallust or Cicero, and was first used by Caesar, B. G. III. 80. It is nearly equivalent to a conditional sentence. A. & G. 235, b; G. 354; H. 384. See Archiv f. Lat. Lex. VIII. 54. Prammer and others regard the construction as similar to *mihi est aliquid.* Livy contributed most to the currency of the idiom, and it is common in Tacitus. The infantry was the main force among the Germans until the middle ages. — **eoque mixti**: *eoque* for *ideoque* is common in Tacitus. For the statement, cf. Caesar B. G. I. 48; VII. 65. Caesar says the same of the Gauls, B. G. VII. 80. Livy, XLIV. 26, mentions it of the Bastarnae; and Amm. XVI. 12. 21, of the Alamanni. The Romans adopted it from the Germans. Tacitus does not mean, however, that the entire infantry force fought in this way. This was a special feature of the German army, and the main body of the infantry fought without cavalry intermingled.

5. **Definitur et numerus**:

Editors are not agreed as to whether these words begin the description of the entire army, or whether they refer to the mixed force above mentioned. *Army* and *people* in early times were convertible terms. The army was only the people under arms. The *hundred* was the elementary division of both land and people. The *pagus* of Tacitus is the *hundred*. Tacitus took the geographical name in a numerical sense, — a sense which it originally had, but had long before lost. The army was made up of such divisions from the various *hundreds*, and these divisions, Tacitus says, were called *centeni*, — of course with the corresponding German word. *Huntari* had the meaning both of *pagus* and *centurio*. The word was simply a name in the time of Tacitus, without numerical significance. See Grimm, Gesch. d. D. Spr. I. p. 343; Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 220.

— **per cuneos**: the order of battle was wedge shaped, — called from its appearance the *Boarshead*. The smaller groups in this form were united to form a great wedge. We learn in c. 7 who composed the *cuneus*. See Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 409. — **Cedere loco**: *locus* is the place assigned in the army or in battle.

To leave this the Romans regarded as the greatest disgrace. — **quam formidinis**: *magis* or *potius* omitted.

6. **praecipuum**: in the age of Tacitus this had the force of a superlative; cf. 7. 3; 14. 2; 42. 1. Tacitus does not mean to say that the loss of the shield was *a great* disgrace, but *the greatest of all*. Such a charge was the greatest insult which could be offered, and the wretch, if guilty, was deprived of all civil and religious rights. — **superstites**: with the genitive; cf. Agr. 3. 3; in Ger. 14. 1, with dative. To many death was preferable to such public disgrace and contempt.

7. 1. **Reges**: kings are often mentioned by Tacitus. The tribes on the border, which the Romans knew best, had in general popular forms of government. Monarchy becomes more common and absolute as we move to the east and north. — **ex nobilitate**: not *out of the nobility*, but *on the basis of* or *according to* their nobility. They were chosen from the noblest families, and the choice was restricted to certain families, which is the essential feature of monarchy. Alongside of this general title to the royal power on the part of one or perhaps two houses, there existed also the right of choice by the people. The Ostrogoths chose their kings from the *Amali*, the Wesegoths from the *Balti*, the Vandals from the *Asdingi*, etc. See Grimm, Gesch. d. D. Spr. I. p. 313. It is not likely that a separate *dux* ever existed alongside of the *rex*. The king was, of course, the leader of his army; but if, among many *principes*, a leader was to be chosen, he was chosen *ex virtute*. — **et duces**, etc.: the predicate is *praesunt*. *Admiratione* is the leading causal ablative, and is still further explained by the words *exemplo . . . agant*.

2. **animadvertere**, etc.: the order is an anti-climax. — **ne . . . quidem**: common in Tacitus in a climax. Cf. 37. 3, *ne Parthi quidem*; 44. 4, *ne libertinum quidem*. — **sacerdotibus**: the Germans had no such Druidical hierarchy as the Gauls had. That they had priests is evident. Cf. 10. 2; 43. 4. Caesar, B. G. VI. 23, seems to contradict this statement of Tacitus. He says that magistrates are chosen in time of war, *qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem*. Tacitus is more exact, and shows that the execution of the penalty was in the hands of the priests.

3. **Effigiesque et signa**: the former were animal forms, — the

wolf, bear, boar, eagle, etc.; the latter were attributes or symbols, as the lance of Wodan, the hammer of Donar, the sword of Tiu. Cf. Hist. IV. 22, *depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est.* — **non casus**, etc.: the line was organized on the basis of kinship. This principle prevailed also in civil affairs. The land was assigned (Caesar, B. G. VI. 22) *gentibus cognationibusque hominum.* The Highland clans were drawn up for battle in this way. See Macaulay's Hist. Eng. cap. XIII. The Roman line was a *fortuita conglobatio.* — **turmam aut cuneum**: the former is used of cavalry, the latter of infantry. — **pignora**: sc. *amoris.* Often used by Tacitus of blood relations. In this sense it is poetical and in post-Augustan prose. — **audiri**: various suggestions have been made to relieve this difficult but well-attested reading of the Mss. Schweizer-Sidler is inclined to supply *possit* or *possint.* Baumstark calls *audiri* a genuine *monstrum horrendum . . . cui lumen ademptum*, but regards it as an historical infinitive. The reading of 5. 4, *est videre*, seems parallel to this, and we should probably read here *audiri* (*erat*). The passive infinitive with *esse* is no more strange than with *licet*, which is so often used in Cicero and Caesar. See Archiv f. Lat. Lex. III. p. 537. The influence of the women, who remained behind the battle line, is often referred to by historians. Cf. Hist. IV. 18; Caesar, B. G. I. 51.

4. **exigere**: *to examine carefully*; like the derivative *examinare.* The women may have been the rude physicians of the times. — **cibosque et hortamina**: zeugma, the abstract united with the concrete.

8. 1. **Memoriae proditur**: Tacitus perhaps had in mind the battle with the Cimbri and Teutones, in which, however, the courage of the women was fruitless. — **obiectu pectorum**: either exposing themselves to the weapons of the enemy, or baring their breasts and begging their husbands to kill them, rather than allow them to be taken prisoners. Cf. Caesar, B. G. I. 51; Plut. Marius, 19. — **comminus**: in this general sense it is post-Augustan for prose. — **nomine**: *on account of.* — **puellae . . . nobiles**: cf. Suet. Oct. 21, *a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere temptavit, quod neglegere marium pignora sentiebat.* Such hostages are spoken of in Hist. IV. 79.

2. **Inesse**: sc. *feminis.* — **providum**: *prophetic.* We have no record of any man who possessed this prophetic power, but several German women are mentioned. See Grimm, D. Mythol. I. p. 78. This reverence for woman was quite different from the romantic devotion of the knight to his lady.

3. **Vidimus**: not in Germany, nor yet in a general sense. Tacitus may have seen her in Rome as a prisoner. — **Veledam**: of the tribe of the Bructeri. Tacitus gives an account of her, Hist. IV. 61, 65; V. 22, 24. She was taken prisoner under Vespasian, and brought to Rome. Her authority over her people was widespread and powerful. — **plerosque**: *very many;* the general meaning in Tacitus. See on 13. 5; Agr. 1. 3. — **sed et**: *et* here is like *etiam.* It implies a previous *non modo*, as in 17. 3; 45. 4. — **olim**: probably during the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius. — **Albrunam**: this is the correct form of the name. It means the one who knows the mysteries of the Elves. Dio Cassius, 67. 5, mentions *Ganna* (from *gan*, ars magica) as a successor of Veleda. Suet., Vitel. 14, speaks of a *vaticinans Chatta mulier.* — **nec tamquam**, etc.: cf. Hist. I. 16, *tamquam principem faceret,* used to introduce a reason as lying in the mind of another. They really regarded them as divine. Their reverence was not that spurious one by which the Roman Senate deified Drusilla, the sister of Caligula.

9. 1. **Deorum . . . colunt**:

Caes., B. G. VI. 21, seems to contradict this: *deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos cernunt, et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.* Yet it is not probable that their religious conceptions had essentially changed within a century and a half. In Tacitus' time, just as later, they worshipped the sun, the moon, and fire. These were in the ranks of the higher gods.

— **Mercurium**: i.e. *Wodan.*

Cf. Paul. Diac. 1. 9, *Wodan sane, quem adiecta littera Guodan dixerunt, ipse est, qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis gentibus ut deus adoratur.* Perhaps in his statement Tacitus confuses Germans and the Gauls, of whom Caesar says (B. G. VI. 17), *deum maxime Mercurium colunt.* The characteristics of the Hermes-Mercurius correspond closely with those of the Keltic *Teutates* and the German *Wodan.* In the names *Hermes* and *Wodan* there is a reference to the wind. Wodan was not originally the highest god. The identification of Wodan with Mercury is confirmed by the names of the days of the week. Wednesday (Wodansday) is in the French *Mercredi,* i.e.

dies Mercurii. So Mars is the northern *Tyr* or *Tiu.* Tuesday (Tyrstag) is in the French *Mardi*, i.e. *dies Martis.* Donar we have already (c. 3. 1) identified with Hercules. In some of his attributes he also resembles Jupiter. From *Donar* or *Thor* we have Thursday, French *Jeudi*, i.e. *dies Jovis.*

— **certis diebus**: on solemn and annually recurring festivals. — **humanis . . . hostiis**: human sacrifices are in their nature and origin expiatory. These victims were probably slaves or prisoners of war. Such sacrifices were made also to Mars and even to Nerthus. Cf. Ann. I. 61; XIII. 57. See Hehn, p. 438. — **concessis**: as opposed to human victims, such as were recognized as suitable and whose flesh could be eaten by man; e.g. the horse, goat, ox, boar, etc. — **Isidi**: by some *Isis* is identified with Nerthus, 40. 2. Tacitus evidently had in mind the Egyptian Isis, but does not intimate that the Suebic goddess was so named by her worshippers. It was not the name, but the symbols, which suggested to Tacitus an imported cult. The worship of Isis was popular in Rome at this time. In the Roman festival of the *remigium Isidis*, which occurred on the 5th of March, a ship was offered to Isis. This German festival, with its symbols, may have reminded Tacitus of the *remigium Isidis*, and so have led to the identification of two widely different cults. A procession through the fields of Germany, with a ship on wheels, is mentioned late in the Middle Ages.

2. **Vnde causa**: sc. *sit.* The ellipsis of the subjunctive forms of *esse* is common in all periods, in exclamations; e.g. *bene tibi feliciter*, sc. *sit.* With this exception, it is not found before the Augustan age; in Cicero very seldom, and perhaps only in indirect questions; more common in Tacitus, especially if another subjunctive follows; after Tacitus, only in isolated cases. See Schmalz, Lat. Gr. p. 400. See on Agr. 24. 5. — **liburnae**: sc. *navis.* This was a light and swift-sailing style of ship, which was named after the Liburnians, on the coast of Illyria, who first built and used such vessels. Though professing ignorance as to the origin of this cult, Tacitus, somewhat illogically, infers from the *signum* that it came from over the sea.

3. **nec cohibere**, etc.: we read of so-called temples among the Germans. Cf. 40. 4, *deam templo reddat;* Ann. I. 51, *templum Tanfanae.* But these were merely consecrated groves. They had no *simulacra*, but only *effigies* or *signa;* cf. 7. 3. The statement of

Tacitus is correct, but his reason for it is somewhat fanciful. The real ground of their simple worship lay doubtless in the simplicity of the people, and in the fact that no sense of art had as yet been awakened. — **ex magnitudine**: *in keeping with the greatness.* Their gods were personified, as we see from 3. 1, where they sing of Hercules, or Donar, as the first of heroes. — **secretum illud**: *that mysterious power.* Some interpret *secretum* as referring to the most sacred part of the grove, where the altar was placed. Cf. Dial. 12 (in a different sense), *nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, mihi voluptatem afferunt.*

10. 1. **Auspicia**: these are divine premonitions, as shown by the cries and flight of birds, etc. — **sortes**: Caesar, B. G. I. 50, 53, mentions the use of the lot. — **ut qui maxime**: *observant* is to be connected with *qui* also. The phrase is elliptical, *as much as those who do so the most.* Cf. Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 2. 6, *tam sum amicus rei publicae quam qui maxime.* — **frugiferae arbori**: see on 5. 1. Probably here the oak, beech, ash, hazel, or elder. There were also other methods of taking the lot. Therefore *consuetudo* means *the common method.* — **notis**: i.e. runes. The word *runa* means *a mystery.* See on 8. 3. The German word *Buchstab* (a letter) means a beechen twig with a sign upon it. Perhaps as many twigs were cut as there were Runic signs. In antiquity all prophesying was accompanied by the use of the rod. Hence the wishing-rod and hazel-rod, the staff of Hercules and Aesculapius. See Grimm, Gesch. d. D. Spr. I., § 159. — **candidam**: cf. 10. 4, *equi candidi.* — **temere ac fortuito**: the former is subjective, the latter objective: *blindly, and just as it happens.*

2. **consultetur**: a generally accepted correction by Halm, for *consuletur* of the Mss. Tacitus often uses the present subjunctive with *si* in cases of repeated action; but the future (*consuletur*) would be very unusual. — **sacerdos civitatis**: it is probable that originally this *sacerdotium civitatis* belonged to the *rex* or the *principes.* Evidently the Germans were far removed from a hierarchy. Every head of a house was a priest, as among the earliest people of India. — **caelumque suspiciens**: a religious attitude, or possibly so as to obviate any suspicion of his seeing and selecting the lot. — **ter singulos**: *three times, one at a time;* i.e. he drew three times, — one twig at each drawing. Only three twigs in all were

drawn. It cannot mean that he took up each twig three separate times, as we cannot see how any inference could be drawn from this. Orelli says there were four possible combinations: all favorable, all unfavorable, two good and one bad, two bad and one good.

3. **adhuc**: *besides.* The testimony of the lot was not enough. The confirmation (*fides*) of the auspices was also needed. — **illud**: that which was well known among the Greeks and Romans. — **hic**: does not refer to Rome, but is used only because *ille* has been used before. See on 3. 3. — **proprium gentis**: *a peculiarity of this people.* Not so, however; for the Persians and other Asiatic people had the same custom. Cf. Herod. I. 189.

4. **isdem nemoribus**: i.e. the *lucos ac nemora* spoken of in C. 3. — **candidi**: a sacred color; the white dog of the North American Indians; the white elephant of India; the white horse of the Persians. — **rex vel princeps**: some editors take *princeps* in the sense of *a chief.* For this idea, we should rather expect *aliquis principum.* The same contrast is intended as in 1. 1, between monarchical and popular governments. But even if among republican tribes there were no permanent *princeps civitatis*, we should naturally suppose that for every assembly of the *civitas* one leader would be chosen out of the *principes.* — **hinnitus**, etc.: see Herod. III. 84–85 for the way in which Darius came to the throne. On this subject, see Hehn, p. 19 and foll.

5. **sed apud proceres**: some editors transpose *sed*, and place it before *apud sacerdotes*, on the ground that the following *se* refers only to the priests. But *proceres* is more general than *principes*, and includes *rex vel princeps*, one of whom always accompanied the priest. — **illos**: i.e. the horses.

6. **committunt**: an expression taken from the gladiatorial games.

11. This chapter gives an account of the popular assemblies, especially the great Assembly, which was held once, twice, or three times each year. The regular assembly is contrasted with the special gatherings (*nisi quid fortuitum*, etc.). The general German word for the popular assembly or court was *thing, ding.* There is a difference of opinion as to who are meant by the *principes.* Waitz refers the word to the officers of the single *Hundreds*, chosen by the popular vote. Schweizer-Sidler inclines to the view that these *principes* were members of the old noble houses, who were eligible to the magistracy, and thinks that these formed the governing board of which Tacitus speaks. Tacitus distin-

guishes the *principes* from the *nobiles*. Matters of minor importance were decided by this governing board or executive committee, and even in matters beyond their control their influence was marked in directing the action of the Assembly. The *res maiores* are explained below, pre-eminently war, peace, treaties, etc. See Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 241; Thudichum, Der Altd. Staat, c. I.

1. **ita**: *under this condition.* — **plebem**: the whole body of the free born, in contrast with the *principes*.

2. **Coeunt**: the popular assemblies are here described. — **nisi quid**, etc.: the *principes* had the power to call a special assembly, in case of an emergency. — **certis diebus**: the regular gatherings. The importance of the new moon to the Germans is seen in Caes. B. G. I. 50, *non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.* The moon was the natural measurer of time for the ancients, from the root *ma*, *to measure.* This does not, of course, imply that the assembly was held at night. — **agendis rebus**: dative of the gerundive to express a purpose, instead of *ad* with the acc. This construction occurs with increasing frequency in the Silver Age. It is found but three times in the shorter writings of Tacitus, thirteen times in the Histories, and very frequently in the Annals. See Draeg. Syntax u. Stil. § 206. — **auspicatissimum**: *most favorable.* — **nec dierum numerum**: so the Gauls. Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 18. A trace of this appears in our *fort'night*, *se'nnight*, *twelfth-night;* also in the German *Fastnacht*, *Weinacht.* Just as men reckoned the years by *winters*, so they reckoned the shorter periods by *nights.* See Grimm's D. Mythol. II. 591.

3. **Sic constituunt, sic condicunt**: *thus they make their appointments and their agreements.* Ordinarily these verbs are strong judicial expressions. — **nox ducere diem**, etc.: a view which appears in many old mythologies. The Edda makes the day begotten from the night. According to Hesiod, *Aether* and *Hemera* are the children of the night. The Egyptians thought the night older than the day. — **ut iussi**: *as those who have received a command.* Cf. Hist. IV. 76, *Germanos non iuberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere;* Caes. B. G. IV. 1. — **sed et alter**, etc.: this is evidently an account of the great Assembly. *Sed et = sed etiam.* — **Vt turba placuit**: i.e. when the number of those who have come straggling in seems great enough. This would be de-

termined by the magistrates. — **armati**: cf. 13. 1; 22. 2; Hist. IV. 64. This was the privilege and the sign of the freeman. The appearance of the Gauls in arms (Livy, XXI. 20) was, to the Romans, a *nova terribilisque species*. — **Silentium**: the priests announced the opening of the Assembly, and also declared the "peace" which should prevail during their deliberations. Hence the priest had the power of punishment. The breaking of the "peace" was an affront to the gods. We saw also, 7. 2, that the power of punishment in the army belonged to the priests, since army and people were convertible terms. — **tum**: i.e. in the Assembly.

4. **rex vel princeps**: see on 10. 4. Prammer and Waitz hold that we should translate with the definite article. The *civitas*, as well as the *pagus*, had its *princeps*. It was the duty of the king (in monarchical states) or (under popular government) the *princeps* to preside over the Assembly. The *principes* evidently had the power to consider matters of importance and present them to the Assembly. Topics which had been discussed and digested in this preliminary council were afterwards discussed in the public Assembly, and this discussion was participated in by the king (if there were one) and the *principes*. A readier hearing would naturally be granted to one whose words were re-enforced by deeds of valor.

5. **frameas concutiunt**: *they clash their spears together*. Cf. Hist. V. 17; Caes. B. G. VII. 21, *conclamat omnis multitudo et suo more armis concrepat, quod facere in eo consuerunt, cuius orationem approbant*.

12. This section is important as showing that the early Germans had a well-developed penal code. The great Assembly had a judicial character. Criminal questions affecting the entire community were settled here. In other cases the judicial powers of the Hundred were sufficient. The word *licet* indicates that the Assembly was not the customary court for such cases. Probably the accuser had the choice of bringing his case either before the court of the Hundred or before the great Assembly. See Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 357.

— **accusare quoque**: *to bring accusations also*; i.e. the Assembly has not only the above-mentioned general powers, but also judicial powers. — **discrimen . . . intendere**: after the analogy of *litem alicui intendere*; the idea is, *to maintain a capital action against*

any one. — **Proditores** : the citizen belonged to the state, which gave him his rights and had a right to him. The deserter forfeited all political and religious rights. — **ignavos et imbelles** : the former are *cowards ;* the latter, those who seek to avoid military service. — **caeno ac palude** : sometimes treated as a case of hendiadys, though the figure is more rare than is commonly supposed. In early German law this was a punishment for the false wife. A similar punishment was at times resorted to by the Romans. Cf. Livy, I. 51. 9; IV. 50. 4. — **insuper** : in a local sense. Cf. 16. 4.

2. **illuc** : *to this principle.* Cf. 39. 3, *eo . . . respicit.* — **tamquam** : *on the ground that ;* expressing the German theory in such cases. The death penalty was inflicted only in cases of injury to the state. All private injuries, even murder, could be satisfied by compensation. — **levioribus delictis** : these cases were probably settled in the Hundred court. The German penal code was a minutely graduated scale, covering almost all possible offences, from an injury to a tooth or finger to the taking of human life. Among the *leviora delicta* homicide was included. It was regarded as a private matter, and the state, as such, had nothing to do with its punishment. The interest which the state finally took in such cases arose from the fact that the public peace had been violated. The fine was paid in the currency of the times, viz. cattle. See on 5. 2.

3. **multae** : the *multa* included not only the *compositio*, but also the *fredus* (peace money). The latter belonged to the king or the state ; the former to the injured man, or (if he had been killed) to his relatives. — **Eliguntur . . . principes** : the verb *eligere* means *to select ;* i.e. from a large number. Out of the whole body of *principes*, the Assembly selected the magistrates for the various districts. Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 23, *principes regionum, atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt, controversiasque minuunt.* The *civitas* was divided into *pagi* (districts, hundreds), and these into *vici* (villages). The magistrates made a circuit (*per pagos vicosque*) throughout the Hundred, holding court in the different villages. — **Centeni . . . comites** : these *comites* are not the same as the *comites* in 13. 3 ; 14. 2, as is shown by the words *ex plebe.* Probably Tacitus misconceived the facts in this case, as he did in 6. 5. The fully

qualified members of the community assembled as a court. These were, of course, members of the Hundred. As we have seen (6. 5), the word had lost its numerical significance. This Assembly seemed to Tacitus a court held by the magistrate, with one hundred attendants; whereas it was a real gathering of the people. Thudichum, der Altd. Staat, p. 32, argues that *comites* is best taken as a predicate nominative, and *consilium et auctoritas* in apposition with it.

13. 1. **Nihil . . . nisi armati**: cf. 11. 3. Grimm, Gesch. d. D. Spr. I. p. 12, traces this custom back to the nomadic life of the Germans. In Hist. IV. 64 the Tencteri speak of the Germans as *viris ad arma natis.* — **moris**: see on Agr. 33. 1; 39. 1; Ger. 21. 4. See Draeger, Hist. Syntax, II. p. 360. — **suffecturum**: sc. *armis.* No definite age is given. With the Westgoths it was twenty; with the Lombards, eighteen; with the Franks and Anglo-Saxons, twelve. — **probaverit**: subjunctive of repeated action. Otherwise, after the negative we have *ante* (or, more commonly, *prius*) *quam* with the indicative. See Draeg. Syntax u. Stil., § 170. *Probare* is a technical military term; here it means, *to be satisfied with something, to indorse an opinion.*

2. **in ipso concilio**: i.e. the great Assembly, though it is possible that this ceremony of equipping the youth with arms was not confined exclusively to this Assembly. — **principum aliquis**, etc.:

This is regarded by Baumstark and others as a form of emancipation from the father's control. It made the youth a member of the state, though, perhaps, did not make him competent to take part in the Assembly. Tacitus, not understanding the ceremony, confuses the order of persons who would officiate. The father was naturally the proper person to conduct the ceremony. If the father were not living, then the *propinqui*, i.e. one of the relatives, who, in the absence of the father, had the guardianship of the youth, would officiate; or, even in the father's lifetime, there might be special reasons for selecting some relative to conduct the ceremony. It would be a special honor if one of the *principes* should act in the father's place. If another than the real guardian adorned the youth with arms, the relation established was probably that of patron and client; and in this case the *principum aliquis* was the leader of a retinue. Waitz, I. 355, thinks that this ceremony would not take place in the gathering of the Hundred, but only in the great Assembly.

— **toga**: sc. *virilis.* This ceremony among the Germans had the same significance as the assumption of the *toga virilis* by the

Roman youth, which took place at about his seventeenth year. — **iuventae**: originally a poetical form, and, since Livy, found in prose for the more classical *iuventus*.

3. **principis dignationem**: critics differ as to whether this means *the rank of chief*, or *the esteem of the chief.* The former is the meaning which corresponds best to the usage of Tacitus. See Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 284. We may translate, *conspicuous nobility or distinguished service on the part of the father secure, even for very young men, the honorable rank of chief.*

It might be questioned whether such *adulescentuli* entered at once upon the *principis dignationem* (as leaders of a retinue), or whether the above-mentioned distinctions created only a prospect or expectancy of such promotion. Tacitus implies that this was a title of compliment. Such deference to high birth, and to conspicuous service on the part of the family, is seen in all countries where there is an hereditary nobility. The sons of noble houses easily secure positions for which they have no fitness so far as regards experience and personal service. These young men were, in a sense, brevet *principes*. In the previous chapter Tacitus has described the emancipation of the youth. As noticed above, he perhaps did not become a citizen in full standing. Without a voice in the Assembly, or possession of land, his natural resort was military service. Gerber and Greef, and also Heraeus, Tac. Hist. I. 30, give to *adsignare* the meaning, *to give promise or expectation of anything.*

— **adgregantur**: has a middle sense, and with *ceteris*, *principibus* is to be supplied. These novices, with the title of *princeps*, appreciating their own lack of fitness to lead a retinue, attach themselves to other tried and veteran *principes*, and learn under them the arts of war. — **nec rubor**: poetic for *dedecus*. Though having the title of *princeps*, they had no false shame as to serving in the ranks.

4. **Gradus quin etiam**, etc.: the testimony of both history and language corroborates this statement. This is doubtless the origin of certain court titles, though such words as *marshal, seneschal*, etc., would suggest a menial origin for such duties. For *quin etiam*, see on 3. 4. — **iudicio eius**, etc.: this indicates the purely personal relation of the *comites* to their *princeps*. The whole phrase, *eius . . . sectantur*, is only a paraphrase for *principis*. — **comitum**: *com-es*, like *equ-es* and *mil-es* is a compound of *ire;* see Henry's *Précis*, § 120. In other places Tacitus calls them *clientes*. — **apud principem suum**: the *princeps* here is the same who is spoken of in 11. 1 and 12. 3. The word is used frequently

in this connection, and the reference must be to the same dignitary. The *princeps* with judicial powers in 12. 3 had also the privilege of having a retinue. — **locus**: sc. *sit.* — **comites**: sc. *sint.* For the ellipsis, see on 9. 2. Cf. also 19. 4; 39. 3; 45. 4. — **plurimi**: we need not suppose a very large retinue. Chnodomarius, one of the kings of the Alamanni, who was taken prisoner by the Romans after the battle at Strassburg in A.D. 357, had 200 followers. Schweizer-Sidler thinks a retinue of 15 would not have been very small.

5. **dignitas**: sc. *principum.* The infinitive clause, and the words *decus* and *praesidium*, are explanatory of *dignitas* and *vires.* — **cuique**: to be connected with *id nomen, ea gloria est.* *Nomen* and *gloria* are to be taken as predicates. — **si . . . emineat**: these words are the exegesis of *id* and *ea.* — **comitatus**: the nominative. — **expetuntur**: i.e. by other tribes. Cf. 5. 4 for the presents given to *principes.* — **plerumque**: cf. 8. 3, *plerosque.* It here has its weaker meaning, *often, very often.* In Caesar, Cicero, and Sallust *plerique* has a superlative meaning. In Tacitus, Nepos, and Livy it is often used like *multi* or *permulti.* — **profligant**: *they bring to an end.*

14. 1. **superstitem principi**: see on 6. 6. For the statement, cf. Amm. Mar. XVI. 12. 60, *Chnodomarii comites ducenti numero et tres amici iunctissimi flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere vel pro rege non mori, si tulerit casus, tradidere se vinciendos.*

2. **defendere, tueri**: Wölfflin proposes to repeat *illum* before *tueri.* Others insert *et* between the two verbs. The verbs are nearly synonymous, the former perhaps suggesting real, the latter possible dangers. In Dialogus 7, we have *tueri et defendere.* — **praecipuum**, etc.: *the very essence of their oath*; see on 6. 6.

3. **tueare**: this is the reading of most Mss.; the second person singular of the present subjunctive, used of an indefinite subject; *one can support.*

4. **exigunt**: sc. *comites.* — **illum . . . illam**: the demonstratives point out these gifts as well known and highly valued. Possibly they were given on the reception of the young man into the retinue. See Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 376. *Bellator* is often joined with *equus.* Cf. Verg. Aen. X. 891. — **cruentam victricemque**: these epithets are used poetically and by anticipation. The *framea*

is personified. — **Nam epulae**, etc.: *nam* introduces an explanation of what precedes. These presents were not pay. — **apparatus**: by some regarded as a genitive singular, by others as nominative plural. In the former case, *et* would be equal to *et quidem*. The plural is more in keeping with the style of Tacitus, and *epulae* and *apparatus* may be taken as a kind of hendiadys.

5. **annum**: poetical for *proventum anni*, as in Agr. 31. 2. — **persuaseris**: the only place in Tacitus where *persuadere* is used with an infinitive, and it is seldom so used anywhere. Not so used in Caesar, Sallust, or Livy. Cf. Nepos, Dion. 3, *ut ei persuaserit . . . facere finem*. — **vocare**: for *provocare*. The post-Augustan prose writers, and especially Tacitus, often use the simple for the compound verb. — **vulnera mereri**: instead of *accipere* or *excipere*, after the analogy of *praemia* or *laudem mereri*. It is questioned whether Tacitus makes the statement *nec arare . . . mereri* of the *comites* or of the whole people. He seems to mean it primarily of the retinue.

Baumstark has called attention, with some detail, to the poetical coloring of this 14th chapter, as shown in its contrast of words, alliteration, use of poetical expressions, etc.

15. 1. **non multum**, etc.: this statement seems to contradict Caes. B. G. VI. 21, where he affirms the contrary of the Germans in general, and B. G. IV. 1, of the Suebi in particular. But Caesar is speaking of the active employments, and merely says that when they are employed at all, it is in war or the chase. Tacitus says that when not so employed, they are given up to eating and sleeping. Moreover, Tacitus is speaking particularly, though not exclusively, of the chiefs and their retinue. See Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 377. — **fortissimus quisque**: these words, after the intervening clause, are taken up again with *ipsi*.

2. **mira diversitate**: *by a strange contradiction.* — **Mos est civitatibus**: by *principibus* we naturally understand those who stood at the head of the community or the Hundred. These voluntary gifts gradually became obligatory, and were the beginning of taxation. — **armentorum**: a bold use of the partitive genitive, like the Greek. Since no other clear instance of such construction can be found in Latin, some regard *armentorum* and *frugum* as depending upon *quod*. Prammer suggests *aliquid*.

3. **sed et**: found in all, only three times in Tacitus, after *non modo* or *tantum*: Ger. 15. 3; 35. 2; Ann. XIV. 39. — **publice**: i.e. *a gentibus*. — **iam et**: usual in Tacitus, so as to avoid the repetition of the syllable *iam* in *etiam*. — **pecuniam accipere**: the Romans willingly furnished gold to the princes whom they placed over German states. Cf. 42. 2.

16. The Germans had nothing corresponding to the Roman conception of a city. They differed even from the Gauls in this respect. The German settlements were at most only *oppida*. The names of such settlements ended in *Dorf*, *Wich*, *Heim* (*Boihaemi*, 28. 3), *Burg* (*Asciburgium*, 3. 3). The hatred of the Germans for cities is shown in Hist. IV. 64, *muros coloniae, munimenta servitii*. Not until the eighth century did cities arise in Central Germany. "The Teutons passed from the tribal stage into the national stage, without ever going through the city stage at all." Freeman's Comparative Politics, p. 101. — **inter se**: is it to be taken with *iunctas* or with *pati*? Probably with the latter. The contrast with the first clause is expressed by *pati*, and *iunctas sedes* has the same sense as *urbes*. See Waitz, Verfassungsgesch. I. 115.

In this chapter two kinds of settlements are described: the separate houses (*Höfe*), quite apart from each other, and the village system (*Dörfer*), which are here called *vici*. Both of these systems are in contrast with the highly developed city life of the Greeks and Romans. The phrase, *ut fons*, etc., does not define exclusively the scattered residences, or *Höfe*, but includes also village settlements. In the villages every house had its yard, and the whole was generally surrounded by a hedge. The village was probably developed from the family settlement. Stubbs, in his Constitutional History, I. 81, holds that in England all primitive villages whose names end in *-ing* were originally colonized by communities, united either by blood or belief in a common descent. See The English Village Community, Seebohm, p. 354.

2. **sive . . . remedium**, etc.: both of these reasons are fanciful. The true reason was the German love of independence. *Remedium* is the accusative, in apposition with the preceding clause. A. & G. 240, g; G. 323; H. 363. 5.

3. **tegularum**: they had not even a word for them. The German *ziegel* is *tegula*, and *mauer* is *murus*. See Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere, Hehn, p. 115 and foll. Many of the German terms of house building come from the Latin. A thatching of straw or reeds was used for the roof. The single room under the broad

thatched roof served the family for all purposes, — eating, working, and sleeping, — and also contained the fireplace, the smoke from which escaped as best it could. — **materia** : *building material.* They built entirely of wood. See Germanic Origins, p. 92. "Stone architecture originates in the southeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea, and spreads, like the use of wine and oil, gradually over the coasts and peninsulas of southern Europe, and from there over the civilized world." See Hehn, p. 111. — **citra speciem** : *citra* in the sense of *sine* is characteristic of Silver Latin, and especially of the earlier writings of Tacitus. See on Agr. 1. 3. — **Quaedam loca**, etc. : an obscure passage. Tacitus does not tell us whether it was on the outside or inside of the house. See Germanic Origins, Gummere. — **picturam** : *painting*, not *a picture.* This is the general idea, and *liniamenta colorum* (*colored lines*) is the particular. This could have been done with a red clay or chalk.

4. **Solent**, etc.: probably Tacitus here describes the way in which ruder and wilder tribes lived. Such subterranean places were called *tung.* — **insuper** : in a local sense, *above* or *on top.* — **fimo** : Schweizer-Sidler supposes a mixture of moss, leaves, straw, with earth and manure, and thinks that the word cannot be taken in its usual sense. But the name of such caverns was *tung* or *dung*, = manure. This covering was for the double purpose of warmth and concealment. — **suffugium hiemis** : not *hiemi.* Cf. 46. 5. *Suffugium* does not occur in prose before Quint. IX. 2. 78. — **advenit** : may be present or perfect. — **eo ipso fallunt** : *they escape notice for this very reason.*

17. 1. **sagum** : a coarse woolen outer garment, similar to the Roman military cloak. In use it corresponded to the toga. — **fibula** : such *fibulae* are often found in graves. — **cetera intecti** : *cetera* is an adverbial accusative. This describes their life within the house. Caesar, B. G. IV. 1, says of the Suebi, *neque vestitus praeter pelles habeant quidquam, quarum propter exiguitatem, magna est corporis pars aperta.* — **Locupletissimi** : the garment here described was common to all, but the rich were distinguished from the poor by the quality and material of the garment. Schweizer-Sidler thinks this *vestis* corresponded to the Roman *tunica.* Baumstark thinks Tacitus refers to trousers, and Lucan, I. 430, is in keeping with this idea: *et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis*

Vangiones. The Vangiones, according to Ger. 28. 5, were unquestionably Germans.

2. **Gerunt**: sc. *alii.* — **proximi ripae**: the right bank of the Rhine and the left of the Danube are meant. — **ut quibus**: sc. *sit.* See A. & G. 320, e, n.; G. 636; H. 517, 3, 1. Those on the frontier could more easily secure woven goods by trade. — **cultus**: *finery* or *ornament.* Cf. 6. 2. — **maculis pellibusque**: hendiadys, *spots made from the hides.* — **beluarum**: probably the ermine, seal, etc. — **exterior Oceanus**: the Baltic. The dress of the women was essentially the same as that of the men.

3. **nisi quod**: elliptical; *only* (with this exception) *that.* Cf. 9. 2; 25. 3; 29. 4; 40. 2. — **amictibus**: *amictus* is the outer cloak or wrap of the women. — **purpura**: not real purple, but probably a red border to the garment. — **in manicas**, etc.: the contrast is not with the dress of the German men, but of the Roman women. A German tribe named *Armalausi* is mentioned, i.e. a people wearing garments without sleeves. — **sed et**: see on 45. 4.

18. 1. **Quamquam**: see A. & G. 313, f; G. 607, 2; H. 515, III. n. 2. After speaking of the scanty clothing of the Germans, Tacitus here goes on to correct a false inference which might be drawn from this fact. — **laudaveris**: see A. & G. 311; G. 602; H. 485. — **prope soli barbarorum**, etc.: this was true principally of the Germans in the west and south. Among these agriculture had made more progress. The pastoral life is more inclined to polygamy; see Grimm, Gesch. d. D. Spr. I. 131. Polygamy was not forbidden among the Germans. Ariovistus had two wives. Cf. Caesar, B. G. I. 53. — **plurimis nuptiis**: may be the dative of the end, or an instrumental ablative. Cf. Aen. VII. 333, *conubiis ambire Latinum.*

2. **Dotem non uxor marito**: it is now generally known that among Indo-European, as well as other peoples, one of the early forms of marriage was by purchase. If not the bride herself, at least the control over her, was purchased from the father or from his legal representatives. The stealing (in form or in reality) of the wife is also an early marriage custom. Both of these customs are found among barbarous tribes of the present day. See Tyler's Early Hist. Mankind, pp. 283, 286. The Roman *dos* was a marriage portion brought by the wife to her husband. The *dos* of the

Germans was quite the opposite. See Germanic Origins, p. 145. — **Intersunt parentes**: marriage took place in the presence of the family, and sometimes in public. — **probant**: *examine, inspect.* — **boves**, etc.: the legal penalties (see on 12. 2), as well as the price for the wife, were paid at this time in cattle and arms, as they were afterward in money.

3. **In haec munera**: *on the basis of these gifts*; for *his muneribus probatis.* Cf. Livy, XXXIII. 30, *in haec obsides accepti.*

Sohm regards this ceremony as a sort of adoption, similar to that described in c. 13. The marriage was, in form, an emancipation from the power of the father. The husband received the wife, together with the sword. The delivery of the sword was the symbol of her release from her father's control, and of her coming under the control of her husband. It was not the bride, but rather the guardian, who gave *armorum aliquid* to the husband, as the symbols of control and defence.

— **arcana sacra**: a reference to the old Roman symbolic form of marriage, called *confarreatio*, which at this time was almost obsolete. — **hoc . . . haec . . . hos**: notice the attraction of the demonstratives.

5. **Hoc iuncti boves**, etc.: in all of this description, Tacitus is too ideal. The weapons, cattle, and horse were not symbols, but the actual purchase price. — **quae**: in the first and second clauses it is the object, and in the last, the subject.

19. 1. **saepta pudicitia**: not *saeptae. With chastity well guarded.* — **nullis . . . inlecebris**: the public spectacles at Rome were destructive of morals. — **Litterarum secreta**: not ignorant of letters, but of clandestine correspondence. The Germans had a Runic writing. See on 10. 1.

2. **in tam numerosa**: concessive, *considering the fact that the race is so numerous.* — **adulteria**: Tacitus refers only to the violation of the marriage vow. — **poena praesens**, etc.: he need not bring the matter before the court, nor have any trial, but might kill the offenders with impunity. The husband had absolute control over the life and person of wife and child. The purity of the wife was not merely a matter of morals; it involved the welfare and continuity of the household. See Hearn's Aryan Household, Cap. III. — **abscisis**: long hair was the mark of freedom and of womanly purity.

3. **Publicatae pudicitiae**: the married woman is alone in question. The connection is close with the preceding, as *enim* shows. — **forma**: *beauty*. — **maritum**: sc. *alterum*. — **invenerit**: for the mood, see A. & G. 311, a; G. 250; H. 485. — **illic**: in contrast with Rome. — **saeculum**: *the spirit of the age*. — **Melius . . . adhuc**: sc. *agunt*. *Adhuc* for *etiam* is Silver Latin. — **in quibus**, etc.: as in India a second marriage was prohibited, so among some of the German tribes the widow followed her husband to death. In later times not only the church, but popular opinion, disapproved of the second marriage of a widow. Many tribes have had the practice of widow-burning, but in India the Suttee cannot be traced to a remote period of antiquity. See Max Müller, Chips, II. 259. — **cum spe . . . transigitur**: *an end is made once for all of the hope and vow of the wife*. Cf. Agr. 34. 4, *transigite cum expeditionibus*.

4. **cogitatio**: sc. *sit*. See on 9. 2. — **ne tamquam maritum**, etc.: *that they should not love him merely because he is a husband, but because through him the marriage-state becomes possible*.

5. **Numerum . . . finire**: Tacitus has in mind the exposure of children. Legally, both exposure and sale of children were permitted. It was less common, however, in western Germany than in the north. Only in times of dearth, or in the case of feeble or deformed children, would exposure be resorted to. In later times, except in some extraordinary emergency, it was forbidden to expose a child after it had been lifted from the earth (*hebamme*). — **adgnatis**: not in the legal sense (those born in the male line), but only *the later born*, i.e. those born *post familiam constitutam*. Such children, born after the family was thought to be complete, and after the settlement of the property had been determined, might be regarded as a disturbing element in the family. Cf. Hist. V. 5 (of the Jews), *necare quemquam ex agnatis, nefas*. — **alibi**: i.e. at Rome. Cf. Hor. Od. III. 24. 35, *Quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?* The *leges Iulia* and *Papia Poppaea* punished celibacy and childlessness, but could not eradicate social evils.

20. 1. **In omni domo**: i.e. the high as well as the low. — **nudi**: see on 6. 2. Mela, III. 3, says: *nudi agunt antequam puberes*

sunt, . . . viri sagis velantur. — **sordidi**: primarily refers to the clothing. The daily bath (22. 1) prevents our referring it to the filthiness of the body. Tacitus is speaking, however, especially of the children. — **in hos artus**, etc.: i.e. such as we see daily here in Rome. — **Sua . . . mater**: there was a very different state of things at Rome. Cf. Dialogus, 29; Quint. I. 1. 4.

2. **Dominum ac servum**: this intermingling on a basis of equality made slavery relatively a mild institution. — **inter . . . pecora**: both at home and in the fields. Possibly a trace of the shepherd life, where the family and the flocks lived together.

3. **Sera iuvenum venus**: cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 21, *qui diutissime impuberes manserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem.* See a fine passage in Kingsley's Roman and Teuton, p. 46. — **festinantur**: *are not hurried into marriage.* The transitive use of this verb before Tacitus is found only in Sallust and the poets. — **iuventa**: after Livy, *iuventa* comes into use for *iuventus. Iuventus* is used in Tacitus only in the concrete sense (*iuvenes*), and *iuventa* only in the abstract sense, *the period of youth.* — **miscentur**: *are united in marriage.*

4. **Sororum filiis**, etc.: according to Indo-European law, after the father's death, the sister, if unmarried, came under the protection and control of the brother. The word *avunculus* (the uncle on the mother's side) means *a little grandfather.* He is in a sense the little grandfather of the future children of the sister. A side light comes from the custom of giving to the newly baptized child the name of the mother's brother. — **hunc nexum**: i.e. *sororum filios.* — **tamquam**: see on c. 12. 2. — **animum**: i.e. of those giving the hostages.

5. **Heredes . . . successores**: the former refers to property, the latter to position, influence, etc. — **tamen**: in spite of the intimate relation between uncle and nephew. — **sui . . . liberi**: i.e. *filii.* According to primitive German law, women did not inherit. There is no trace here of primogeniture. See Waitz, I. p. 66. Cf., however, 32. 2. — **nullum testamentum**: in strange contrast with Roman custom, but universally the case among the northern barbarians. Their earliest codes show no trace of a will. "Whatever testamentary law exists has been taken from Roman jurisprudence." Maine's Ancient Law, Cap. VI. p. 190. — **fratres, patrui,**

etc.: inheritance in the male line. No mention is made of the father, perhaps because the death of the son before the father would be regarded as exceptional. — **nec ulla orbitatis pretia**: in contrast with Rome. The trade of fortune-hunting was a lively one at Rome. By presents, invitations, compliments, etc., schemers tried to gain the favor of rich old men who had no natural heirs. Seneca Cons. Marc. 19, and Plin. Ep. IV. 15, speak of the *praemia orbitatis*.

21. 1. **Suscipere tam inimicitias**: this naturally follows the remarks about inheritance. Blood relationship was the sole foundation of the right of inheritance and the right of revenge. These two rights and duties were parallel outgrowths from the institution of the family. It was an obligation resting upon the entire family, and especially upon the nearest male relative, to undertake the settlement of quarrels. No duty was more sacred than to carry out the feud; see Waitz, I. p. 70. Cf. Vell. II. 118, where the Germans pretend to thank Varus, *quod solita ante armis decerni, iure iam terminarentur*. — **durant**: sc. *inimicitiae*. Even in the time of Tacitus, in place of blood revenge, compensation was allowed. This was called *wergeld*, i.e. man money, the price for a human life. See on 12. 2. The *wergeld* varied in amount according to family, age, rank, etc. The right of feud is still in existence among various half-civilized tribes. — **recepit . . . satisfactionem**: the *satisfactio* (*compositio*) belonged to the entire family. The family was obliged to rest satisfied with the payment, and waive its right to the feud. — **in publicum**: also used by Caesar in the sense of *publice*. The *compositio* marks an advance in social and civil order, just as the cities of refuge did among the Jews. — **iuxta libertatem**: a Tacitean expression, equivalent to *in libertate* or *inter liberos homines*. Border life furnishes constant illustrations of the general statement. *Libertatem* has its broadest meaning, almost like *licentiam*.

2. **Convictibus et hospitiis**: cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 23, *hospitibus omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur*. *Hospitiis* refers more particularly to the entertainment of strangers. — **Quemcumque . . . arcere**: in primitive society hospitality is a primary virtue. Among the Bedouins, "to refuse shelter or food to a stranger is held to be not merely a wicked action, an offense against

divine and human law, but the very essence of depravity." In the North it was not permitted to kill even the murderer of a brother, if he had entered the house as a guest. See Macbeth, Act I. Sc. VII.: —

> "his host,
> Who should against his murderer shut the door,
> Not bear the knife myself."

Later it was the rule that a guest should not remain longer than three days.

3. **defecere**: sc. *epulae.* — **modo**: *but recently.* — **hospes**: *host.*

4. **quantum ad ius**, etc.: for the earlier *quod attinet ad hospitium.* For the same expression see on Agr. 44. 3; cf. Hist. V. 10. — **moris**: see on Agr. 23. 1; Ger. 13. 1. — **victus . . . comis**: the Mss. reading; *the manner of life between guest and host is friendly.*

22. 1. **in diem**: the Romans rose early. — **lavantur**: Tacitus speaks here, as also in 15, of the better class of Germans. — **calida**: sc. *aqua.* The same ellipsis occurs with *frigida.* In the Middle Ages warm baths were common among the Germans. The bath in cold water was also common. Cf. Caesar, B. G. IV. 1; VI. 21. — **ut . . . occupat**: Prammer formerly read *occupet.* Cf. 17. 2 (*ut quibus*), where *est* is to be supplied. The indicative with *ut qui* is found in Tacitus in only these two places. — **plurimum**: sc. *temporis.* — **Lauti**: translate *then*, or *after the bath.* — **separatae . . . sedes**: the Romans reclined upon couches. The Germans, like the Greeks in Homer's time, sat. — **cuique**: Kritz thinks that *cuique* cannot mean *every individual*, but probably every *paterfamilias.* The German *tisch*, however, which is kindred with the Latin *discus*, meant originally *plate* or *dish*, and only later acquired the meaning *table.*

2. **Diem . . . continuare**: *to turn day and night into one.* — **ut inter vinolentos**: see on 2. 4, *ut in licentia. Vinolentos* is hardly applicable to the Germans. It is like *temulentos* or *ebrios.* Tacitus mentions the passion of the Germans for drink, 23. — **transiguntur**: see on 19. 3.

3. **invicem**: here reciprocal, like *inter se.* — **adsciscendis principibus**: this does not refer to the choice of *principes.* Baumstark

translates *adsciscere*, *to unite one's self to*, and thinks the phrase refers to entering into the retinue. Others refer it to the welcoming of *principes* from other German tribes. Waitz refers it to the election of *principes* as magistrates. See on 12. 3. The last view is preferable. — **de pace . . . ac bello**: an instance is found in Hist. IV. 14. — **tamquam**: see on 12. 2 ; 20. 4.

4. **astuta . . . callida**: the former is native, the latter acquired shrewdness. — **adhuc**: it is better to connect *adhuc* with *aperit* than with *secreta; even yet discloses.* — **mens**: *thought*, *opinion.* There is no need of either period or semicolon after *mens.* — **salva . . . ratio est**: *a due regard for each time is observed.* — **dum**: in the sense of *tum cum*, i.e. "in that state of mind in which."

"Everything in this chapter which Tacitus says of the Germans is in striking contrast to Roman life. The Romans rose early, bathed after the game of ball, reclined at dinner in groups of three, carried no weapons in the city, did not indulge in drink till evening, and at their banquets, at least under the Empire, mutual suspicion prevailed, out of fear of informers." Prammer.

23. 1. **frumento**: i.e. wheat. The liquor referred to is beer. The word *cervisia* (beer), which Pliny uses, is Keltic, and was not in general use in the time of Tacitus. Was there no native name for the native drink? It is doubtful whether *bier* and *ale* are native German words. The Germans were not "to the manner born," in the use of *bier*. In the beginning of European history it was the drink of the Kelts. But it was not the modern beverage, since hops were not brought from the East to Germany until the Middle Ages. *Bier* is a product of agriculture, and the Germans entered Europe in the pastoral stage. See Hehn, p. 125 and foll. — **corruptus**: not *spoiled*, but *changed by fermentation.* The *meth*, a drink prepared from honey and corn, is not mentioned. Caesar, B. G. VI. 28, describes their drinking at banquets from great ox-horns bound with silver. A barbaric drinking-cup was the skull of an enemy slain. — **proximi ripae**, etc.: the importing of wine was forbidden by the Suebi in Caesar's time; cf. B. G. IV. 2. — **agrestia poma**: not only wild apples and pears, but all kinds of berries, nuts, etc. If we are to understand but one kind of fruit by the general word *poma*, it must be the apple, since it alone has a native name. See on 5. 1. Fruit culture was intro-

duced into southern Germany in the second century, and by the Romans, as is shown by the names; e.g. Birne = pirum; Kastanie = castanea; Kirsche = cerasum; Nuss = nux; Pflaume = prunum. Kluge, Etymolog. Wörterbuch, on philological grounds, places the introduction of these words much later than the second century. See Hehn, p. 425. — **recens**: not *raw flesh*, but *newly killed game*. They did not keep it, as the Romans did, till it was "high." — **lac concretum**: not *cheese* or *butter*, but *curdled milk*. They also had cheese; cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 22. — **blandimentis**: *spices*.

2. **haud minus facile**: *haud minus* is litotes for *magis*. Hence *haud minus facile* = *facilius*. Tacitus gives two instances (Hist. IV. 79 and Ann. I. 50) in which the Germans were overcome while under the influence of liquor.

24. 1. **in omni coetu**: *in every kind of gathering.* — **Nudi**: see on 6. 2; 20. 1. — **quibus . . . est**: *who carry on this sport.* Others, not so well, take *ludicrum* as the predicate nominative. The dance was carried on by freeborn youths, and not, as was the case at Rome, by men or women of the lower class, who made a business of it. — **infestas**: *hostile*, *threatening*, i.e. with the point toward them. — **se . . . saltu iaciunt**: such a sword or spear dance is common among many peoples. In Germany and the North it continued till recent times. Some sort of music probably accompanied it. — **non in quaestum**, etc.: sc. *se exercent*, suggested by *exercitatio*. Tacitus has in mind the Roman gladiators, actors, etc. — **quamvis audacis**: the dance was often reckless and dangerous. *Quamvis* is not concessive, but modifies *audacis*. — **spectantium**: used substantively. Cf. Agr. 4. 4, *peccantium*; 6. 3, *peccantibus*; 41. 1, *laudantes*; 40. 3, *servientium*.

2. **Aleam, quod mirere**: in Rome, games of dice were allowed only at the table for amusement, and on the Saturnalia. Cf. Hor. Od. III. 24. 58, *vetita legibus alea.* — **inter seria**: *as a serious occupation.* — **extremo ac novissimo**: alongside of great brevity in the style of Tàcitus, there appears at times a redundancy of expression which aims at emphasis. A thing might be *extremus*, and yet not *novissimus*. So we might say, "the last and final (or decisive) throw." — **de libertate ac de corpore**: *for personal freedom*; hendiadys.

3. **iuvenior**: this full form, for *iunior*, is often found in Silver

Latin. — **venire** : the neuter passive verb *vēnĕo* differs in the length of its stem-syllable from *vĕnĭo*. Such instances of desperate gambling are found among the Huns and East Indians, and even among the Chinese of to-day. — **Ea** : has here the force of *talis*, or *tanta*. — **fidem** : *honor*. — **tradunt** : sc. *aliis*, probably to foreigners. — **quoque** : the particle, and not from *quisque*.

25. 1. **Ceteris servis** : in contrast to those won by gambling. Such slavery arose in several ways : (1) Capture in war ; (2) Descent from slave parents ; (3) Debt ; (4) As a penalty. The slave was not a person in the eyes of the law ; but custom modified the hardship of his lot. An intermediate condition between absolute servitude and freedom was that of the *liti*, or *lati*. These had no political rights, nor right of marriage with the free. They held their land from a lord, to whom they were required to render certain services. They were bound to the soil. — **discriptis** : *definitely assigned*. The subdivision of labor in the Roman slave household was very minute. In the following passage, Tacitus seems to have in mind the *lati*, and not slaves in the strictest sense. — **sedem** : rhetorical, for *casam* or *tugurium*.

2. **ut colono** : sc. *Romano*. — The *colonus* was regarded as born to the estate, and incapable of release. The comparison must not be taken too literally. See Arnold's Prov. Ad., p. 162. — **servus . . . paret** : too mild a statement, judging from later times. — **cetera domus officia** : this would be applicable only to *vestis*, which would imply spinning and sewing. Others take *domus officia* as in apposition with *cetera ; other matters, such as the household service*. — **uxor ac liberi** : of course those of the master.

3. **Verberare**, etc. : in contrast with the extreme slave punishments at Rome. — **disciplina et severitate**, etc. : in this and the following expression we have two cases of hendiadys. — **impune est** : i.e. if he killed his own slave ; if the slave of another, he must pay the established *wergeld ;* see on 21. 1.

4. **Liberti** : *libertini* is the word to designate the freedmen as a class. — **raro aliquod momentum** : in marked contrast to Rome, where freedmen attained vast wealth and power. The freedman was not a member of the popular Assembly ; but monarchy gave him a greater, and in a sense a political, significance. Waitz, I. 153. The relation to the king determined everything. The

Seneschall (old servant) and *Marschall* (horse-servant) afterwards became high officials. — **quae regnantur**: *are ruled by kings*. This personal passive use of the intransitive verb *regnare* is a Graecism. Cf. 43. 7.

5. **impares libertini**: *the inferior condition of the freedmen*. By *libertini* Tacitus refers to those above called *liberti*. The former designates freedmen as members of a class; the latter, with reference to the master who has given them freedom.

26. 1. **Faenus agitare**: *to deal in money as a business*. *Agitare* is for the more common *exercere*. — **in usuras extendere**: sc. *faenus*, in the sense of *capital*. Others take *faenus* in the sense of *interest*, and think it means to add the interest to the principal, and so take compound interest. The statement seems superfluous, and can only be explained in the light of business methods at Rome. — **servatur**: sc. *faenus non agitare*. — **Agri pro numero**, etc.:

This passage has long been a subject of dispute, and will doubtless remain so, for the account of Tacitus is brief and general. Does Tacitus describe a common ownership of the soil, or private ownership? There are three items in the statement: (1) *agri . . . occupantur;* (2) *quos . . . partiuntur;* (3) *arva . . . mutant*. The land is taken possession of by all; it is then divided, or apportioned to the individual, and the cultivated portion is changed from year to year. Caesar, B. G. VI. 22, says: "*neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios, sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt*. The features of Caesar's account are: (1) an entire absence of private ownership; (2) an official assignment of land to clans and families; (3) a new assignment at the close of each year. The account of Tacitus is distinctly in advance of that of Caesar. The Germans of Caesar's time were nomadic. Tacitus says nothing of an annual change of *settlement*, nor of an assignment by *clans*. He does not deny private possession of land, as Caesar does. Caesar (B. G. VI. 22) implies that all, high or low, had an equal portion assigned: "*cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat*. Tacitus says the land was divided *secundum dignationem*. By some *dignatio* is referred to the land (quality of the soil), but more properly to social position. *Universis* requires *cultoribus*, which is suggested by *cultorum*. For *vicem*, where the reading is uncertain, most editors give *in vices*. Notice the distinction between *ager*, *campus*, and *arva*. The words *arva per annos mutant* do not mean that the members of the community change portions of land with each other, but that they till a new portion of the soil (*ager*) from year to year, leaving fallow for some years the land which had borne one or two crops. See Waitz, I. p. 140 and foll.; Seebohm, The English Village Community, p. 344.

2. **superest ager**: *there is land left over.* *Ager* is the public land not yet assigned. — **terrae**: dative after *imperatur.* Cf. Caes. B. G. V. 1, *civitatibus milites imperat.*

3. **annum quoque ipsum**, etc.: the Germans had originally but two seasons; the Greek year had three. The farther north we go, we find the year less subdivided; toward the south, three, four, or five seasons may be distinguished. Winter, spring, and summer are of German origin; autumn is Latin. Autumn is associated especially with the gathering of fruits, and the Germans did not cultivate fruits. See Peile's Grk. and Lat. Etymol. p. 170; Grimm's D. Mythol. II. p. 631.

27. 1. **nulla ambitio**: in contrast with both Gauls and Romans. Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 19. — **certis lignis**: probably oak and beech, wound about with thorns. — **crementur**: cremation was forbidden, as a pagan custom, by Charlemagne. — **nec vestibus**, etc.: cf. Ann. III. 2, where, around the funeral train of Germanicus, *equites vestem odores cremabant.* — **sua cuique arma**: the horse and spear would be needed by the warrior in Valhalla. Compare the customs of the North American Indians, Irving's Astoria, Cap. X. See on 19. 3. Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 19.

2. **caespes**: personified. Cf. Sen. Ep. I. 8. 6, *hanc* (*domum*) *utrum caespes erexerit.* — **ut gravem**: compare the common inscription on Roman tombs, *sit tibi terra levis.* — **ponunt**: *lay aside.*

3. **in commune**: *in general.* Cf. 38. 1; 40. 2. — **instituta ritusque**: the former, political and military; the latter, religious.

28. The second part of the Germania, dealing with particular tribes, begins here. — 1. **Validiores**: i.e. than at the time of Tacitus. Others supply *quam Germanorum.* The passage referred to is B. G. VI. 24. — **summus auctorum**: Caesar was nine years in Gaul, and had a thorough knowledge of the land and people. — **Gallos . . . transgressos**: a false idea. These Gauls on German soil were more probably stragglers in the great migratory movement toward the west.

2. **amnis**: the Rhine. — **promiscuas adhuc**: *still undivided,* and therefore without an owner.

3. **Igitur**: used to resume an interrupted narrative. See Gerber u. Greef, s.v. B. See on Agr. 13. 2. — **Hercyniam silvam**: the word is Keltic, and the aspirate is not original. Vaniček (Fremd-

wörter im Griech. u. Lat.) derives it from *er* (intensive) and *cun* (height), i.e. a very elevated forest. Caes. B. G. VI. 25, says that this forest extended from the sources of the Danube to the borders of Dacia. It included the entire mountain system of Southern Germany. There is no doubt that the Helvetii once occupied Southwestern Germany, but before Caesar's time they had been driven out of these settlements toward Switzerland. — **Moenum**: the Main, a Keltic word.—**Boiohaemi**: the name is a hybrid compound of a Keltic tribal name and the German *haims* (home). — **quamvis**: concessive with the participle, instead of a clause. Earlier writers do not so use it. Cicero has it only to strengthen adjectives. Cf. Tacitus also, 24. 3, *quamvis iuvenior*, *quamvis robustior*. — **mutatis cultoribus**: the Boii had been driven out by the Marcomani.

4. **Germanorum natione**: Halm brackets these words, because they seem to contradict 43. I. Tacitus means only that, geographically, they belonged to the Germans. In 43. 1 we learn that the Osi were Pannonians. The Aravisci and Osi were both of the Illyrian stock. — **utriusque ripae**: of the Danube.

5. **Treveri et Nervii**: here Tacitus takes up the discussion as to *quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint*. The Treveri dwelt on the Moselle. Cf. Caes. B. G. II. 28; V. 3, where both these tribes are highly spoken of. The chief town of the Treveri was later called *Augusta Treverorum* (Treves). According to Zeuss, they were genuine Gauls. The Nervii dwelt on the Scheldt, and were a Belgic people. — **circa**: *with reference to*. In this sense it belongs to the Silver Latin. — **ultro ambitiosi**: *exceedingly zealous*. *Ultro* (from *ultra*) means "over and above what one would expect." Tacitus was doubtful about the German origin of the Treveri or Nervii, as is shown by the following *haud dubie*. — **tamquam**: see on 12. 2. — **inertia Gallorum**: see on Agr. 11. 4. — **haud dubie**: closely connected with *Germanorum populi*. — **Vangiones**, etc.: Grimm explains these three names as clearly German. The Vangiones were settled about Worms, the Nemetes about Spire, the Triboci about Strassburg. See Grimm, Gesch. d. D. Spr. I. p. 347. These three tribes appeared in the army of Ariovistus. Cf. B. G. I. 51.

6. **Ubii**: in Caesar's time they dwelt on the right bank of the Rhine. As friends of the Romans, they were fiercely assailed by

their neighbors, especially by the Suebi. At the invitation of Augustus, they crossed the Rhine. In B.C. 39 Agrippa took them under Roman protection, and arranged for their settlement on the left bank of the Rhine. Their chief town (Cologne) is called by Tacitus *Ubiorum Oppidum*, and later was called *Colonia Agrippinensis*, from Agrippina (the daughter of Germanicus), who was born there. She settled a colony of veterans there, and gave them her own name. — **quamquam**: for the subjunctive with *quamquam* see on Agr. 3. 1; 13. 2. Tacitus uses the subjunctive generally, but has the indicative eighteen times. Draeg. Syntax u. Stil. § 201; Schmalz, Lat. Gr. p. 507. For the subjunctive in the Germania cf. 29. 5; 35. 1; 38. 1. — **conditoris**: used, just as *amator* may be, of a woman. The form *conditrix* belongs to later Latin. *Sui* must then be regarded as an objective genitive. Cf. Ann. XI. 24, *conditor nostri Romulus*. We can hardly suppose that Tacitus blundered here and had Agrippa in mind, as must be the case if we take *conditoris sui* for a genitive of possession. — **experimento fidei**: *on account of their well-tried loyalty.*

29. 1. **Batavi**: cf. Hist. IV. 12; B. G. IV. 10. At least a century before our era they were found in this same place. The name must have been brought with them from their old home. "They inhabited the islands of the Rhine delta, of which one is still called *Betuwe*, or *good meadow*;" Kiepert. See Momms. Prov. I. 130. The Batavi were the best horsemen among the Germans. They were also expert swimmers, and were regarded as model soldiers. See Momms. Prov. I. p. 131; Hehn, p. 46. At the time of the Batavian settlement the Romans had no foothold in this region. Tacitus uses *fierent* designedly: *they were destined to become;* i.e. when Caesar should appear with his legions. — **Chattorum quondam populus**: Tacitus makes the same statement in Hist. IV. 12, and says that they took possession of *extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus, simulque insulam iuxta sitam.* As to the reason for this expulsion, we learn nothing from Tacitus nor from any other source. In spite of their alliance with Rome, they remained German to the core, as is shown by their rising under Civilis in the time of Vespasian.

2. **oneribus**, etc.: dative, which is the regular construction with *eximere* in Tacitus, the only exception being Agr. 3. 3. *Onera* are regular taxes, and *collationes* are special levies.

3. **Mattiacorum**: at the foot of the Taunus, in Wiesbaden. Grimm traces this name in the modern Nassau. — **ultraque**: *que* is explanatory.

4. **sede finibusque**: these words are contrasted with *mente animoque*, just as *in sua ripa* is contrasted with *nobiscum*. — **nisi quod**: see on 17. 3. — **adhuc**: this may strengthen the comparative *acrius*, as in 19. 3, *melius . . . adhuc;* or it may, still better, be closely connected with *terrae suae; a land which is still their own.*

5. **numeraverim**: the perfect subjunctive, to express an inclination on the part of the writer. See on Agr. 10. 6. — **quamquam**: see on 28. 6. — **decumates agros**: the phrase is not found elsewhere. It was the angle between the upper Rhine and the upper Danube. *Decumates* has nearly the same meaning as *decumani*, and perhaps is derived from it, as *damnas* for *damnatus*, *campas* for *campanus*, etc. The population was mixed. When the Helvetii migrated, the district was left open. Gallic settlers had rushed in, and there was an intermixture of Germans who had remained behind, and of Romans. "It cannot be shown linguistically that *decumas* can mean *liable for a tenth*, nor are we acquainted with such arrangements in the imperial period." See Momms. Prov. I. 165; Arnold's Prov. Ad. p. 144. Budinszky, p. 147.

6. **dubiae possessionis**: insecure, and exposed to danger from the Germans, since the Romans had not fully taken possession of it. — **limite acto**:

A common method with the Romans of protecting their frontier. See on Agr. 22. 1. This defence was apparently begun by Domitian and carried on by Trajan and Hadrian. Tacitus refers here especially to the work of Trajan. The *limes* was really an imperial frontier road. See Momms. Prov. I. 133. This upper Germanic *limes* was about 228 miles long. For a full description see Momms. Prov. I. 167. The remaining fragments of this wall are called by the natives *Teufelsmauern*. See on Agr. 41. 2.

— **sinus**: *the outermost nook.* — **provinciae**: a part belonged to upper Germany and a part to Raetia, in which latter Vindelicia was then included. The land was under military government, and subject to the officers in command of these two provinces. Tacitus refers especially to Raetia.

30. Thus far Tacitus has described the border tribes, who were in a state of dependence upon Rome. Here he begins his account

of the independent German tribes. — 1. **Chatti**: north of the *limes*, in the region of modern Hesse. Grimm has shown that the words *Hesse* and *Chatti* are etymologically the same. Caesar does not mention the Chatti. The Frisii and the Chatti are the only German tribes who are still in the same regions in which we first find them. — **initium . . . incohant**: pleonasm. — **Hercynio saltu**: see on 28. 3. Here, the mountain region on the right bank of Main. — **effusis**: *far extending* or *level.* — **durant**, etc.: this passage is corrupt, and the texts vary. Many punctuate with a semicolon after *durant.* Church and Brodribb assume that there is an implied repetition of *durant* and *rarescunt*, and they translate as follows: *they* (*the Chatti*) *extend wherever* (*si quidem*) *the hills extend, and gradually diminish in numbers as the country becomes less hilly*, etc. — **suos**: as if they were the children of the hills. — **saltus Hercynius**: personification. — **deponit**: *lays aside*, or *takes leave of.*

2. **ut inter Germanos**: *considering the fact that they are Germans; ut* has here a limiting or qualifying force. Cf. Cic. de Sen. 12, *ut in homine Romano;* Livy, XXI. 34, *ut inter montanos.* Contrast with this c. 22. 2, *ut inter vinolentos.* — **praeponere**: this series of infinitives is explanatory of the preceding words. — **disponere diem**: "to assign to each part of the day its proper work." Cf. Sen. Dial. XI. 6. 4, *tuo arbitrio diem disponere.* — **vallare noctem**: i.e. *noctu vallo se munire.* The phrase is poetical.

3. **copiis**: *supplies of food.* — **Rari**: predicate adjective with both nouns. — **velocitas**: this refers to cavalry, as *cunctatio* to infantry. — **iuxta**: *akin to.*

31. 1. **usurpatum**: the nominative of the perfect participle, used as a substantive, and in apposition with the infinitive phrase, *crinem . . . submittere*, which is the subject of *vertit.* See on Agr. 1. 1. — **crinem . . . submittere**: *to allow the hair and beard to grow.* Cf. Suet. Calig. 47. The Merovingian kings were distinguished by their long hair (*reges criniti*). Harold of Norway was called *Harfagr*, i.e. with the beautiful hair. — **exuere . . . oris habitum**: Civilis took such a vow. Cf. Hist. IV. 61.

2. **Super . . . spolia**: alliteration. Cf. 45. 5, *passim . . . partemque praedae petunt.* — **Ignavis . . . manet squalor**: Tacitus draws his own conclusion from what precedes, without reference

to what follows. Evidently long hair was not a mark of cowardice. — **squalor**: i.e. the unshorn condition. Cf. Livy, XXVII. 34, *tonderi et squalorem deponere*. — **ferreum . . . anulum**: Tacitus uses the plural (*anuli*) of the ring of the Equestrian Order. This ring or fetter was the badge of servitude to the war-god. Ordinarily it was a reproach, as a sign of debt or bondage.

3. **Plurimis . . . placet**: *plurimis* is not *the most*, but *very many*. The emphatic word is *placet*. Grimm compares these professional warriors to the northern Berserkers, and finds some resemblance in them to the knight-errant of the Middle Ages. — **insignes**: i.e. with the long hair and iron ring. — **monstrati**: *objects of remark*. — **nova**: *strange*, and therefore *terrible*.

4. **prodigi alieni**: cf. Sall. Cat. 5, *alieni appetens, sui profusus*. — **exsanguis**: poetical for *fessa*.

32. 1. **Proximi Chattis**: westward, on the right bank of the Rhine. — **certum iam alveo**: in contrast with the upper Rhine. Cf. Mela, III. 2, *mox diu solidus et certo alveo lapsus*. — **quique . . . sufficiat**: a deep channel, so that no fortifications are needed. — **Usipi ac Tencteri**: these two tribes are almost uniformly mentioned together. They were on the right bank of the Rhine, south of the Lippe. Zeuss thinks that afterwards they were lost in the Alamanni, though Grimm finds nothing to warrant such a conclusion.

2. **Hi lusus infantium**: Thudichum, quite soberly, refers this to the hobby-horse. — **Inter familiam**, etc.: *familia* means the slaves; *penates*, the household effects. — **iura successionum**: this must refer to the real estate; *objects of legal inheritance*. — **excipit filius**: the best soldier inherited the war-horse. This exception indicates a law of primogeniture among the Tencteri. See on 20. 5. Even admitting such a law in this tribe, no general inference can be drawn as to its prevalence among the Germans.

33. 1. **Bructeri**: between the Lippe and the Ems. This noted tribe took part in the defeat of Varus and in the rising under Civilis. For Veleda, their prophetess, see on 8. 3. Nothing is known from other sources of any such destruction of the Bructeri. They are mentioned also in later times, even as late as the eighth century, and their name is preserved in a district south of the Lippe, called *Boractra-Gau*. — **occurrebant**: in a geographical sense. —

nunc . . . narratur: with such verbs as *traditur*, etc., Tacitus prefers the acc. with infinitive, if the subject is plural. — **Chamavos**: between the Frisii and the Bructeri. In the Middle Ages there was a *Gau Hamaland* in this region. — **Angrivarios**: from *angar*, *a meadow*. Southwest of Minden is a village called *Enger*, which Grimm thinks the center of the region held by the Angrivarii. They were on the Weser, between the Chauci and the Cherusci. The Amsivarii are essentially the same people. — **spectaculo**: Nipperdey (Ann. I. 22) holds that here we have the true classical construction of *invidere* with the dative. In Silver Latin this verb has the ablative of the thing, together with (generally) a dative of the person, and some editors so explain this passage, supplying *nobis*.

2. **oblectationi oculisque**: hendiadys. See on 25. 3. — **urgentibus . . . fatis**: a mournful anticipation of impending danger and ruin. — **discordiam**: for the sentiment, see on Agr. 12. 1.

34. 1. **a tergo**: i.e. from the Roman point of view, on the Rhine, and therefore east or southeast, just as *a fronte* would be northwest. — **Dulgubnii**: east of the *Angrivarii*. — **Chasuarii**: not to be confounded with the *Chattuarii*, a tribe related to the Chatti. The name is derived from the river *Hase*, a tributary of the Ems. — **haud perinde**: cf. 5. 3. It is not plain whether these words make a comparison between the two tribes mentioned and the *aliae gentes*, or whether the two tribes are included among the *aliae gentes*, as *not very well known*. — **Frisii**: between the Yssel and the Ems. See on 30. 1. Not mentioned by Caesar; subdued by Drusus, B.C. 12; rose in rebellion against Roman exactions, A.D. 28; again subjugated by Corbulo, A.D. 47. They also fought against Rome under Civilis. Only Tacitus mentions this division into *greater* and *lesser*. There may be a confusion here with the Chauci (c. 35), of which tribe Pliny, H. N. XVI. 1, says that there was a division into *maiores* and *minores*. See Momms. Prov. I. 137. n.

2. **vocabulum**: see on 2. 4. — **Vtraeque nationes**: cf. Livy, XLII. 54, *utraque oppida*. Such a use of the plural, which is essentially incorrect, is found in Caesar, and so was perpetuated in historical style. — **praetexuntur**: *are bordered by*. The figure is borrowed from the *toga praetexta*. — **immensos . . . lacus**: for this

weaker sense of *immensus*, see on 1. 1. A great convulsion in the thirteenth century swallowed up thousands of Frisian villages, and formed here the Zuyder Zee. See Motley's Dutch Republic, I. p. 37.

3. **quin etiam**: see on 3. 4. — **illa**: sc. *parte*. — **temptavimus**: the reference is probably to the exploring expeditions of Drusus. See on 1. 1. — **Herculis columnas**: crags or headlands, which were made the subject of sailors' "yarns." For similar sailors' stories, cf. Ann. II. 24.

4. **Druso Germanico**: sometimes regarded as a case of asyndeton, and referred to Drusus the Elder and his son Germanicus. It is better to refer it to the elder Drusus alone, who received the surname Germanicus. — **obstitit Oceanus**: personification. *Obsistere* with the infin. is found only here. — **simul atque**: Tacitus uses *simul et* (*ac*, *atque*, *que*) in his shorter writings, instead of *et* . . . *et*. Cf. 12. 3, *simul et auctoritas*; 30. 1, *simul atque deponit*.

35. 1. **ingenti flexu**: refers to the peninsula of Jutland. In 37. 1 it is called *sinus*. — **Chaucorum**: see on 34. 1. Between the Ems and the Elbe; under Civilis, they fought against Rome. It is doubtful whether they extended as far south as the Chatti. Tacitus may have included under the Chatti the Cherusci, whom they had subjugated. — **quamquam**: see on 28. 6. — **donec**: see on 1. 3.

2. **sed et**: see on 15. 3. — **populus . . . nobilissimus**: this praise of the Chatti is in striking contrast with Pliny's account (H. N. XVI. 1), where they are described as an extremely degraded people. They had been in alliance with Rome, and this may explain the favorable account of Tacitus.

3. **impotentia**: *violence, lack of self-control*. Always in this sense in Tacitus. — **praecipuum**: see on 6. 6.

4. **si res poscat**: in this phrase, *poscere* is regularly without an object. *Si* has an iterative force. Cf. 10. 2, *si consultetur*; 14. 3, *si civitas . . . torpeat*. — **plurimum**, etc.: explanatory of *exercitus*. — **quiescentibus**: this is in contrast with *si res poscat*.

36. 1. **Cherusci**: (from Gothic *hairu*, *a sword*) in central Germany, between the Elbe and the Weser. After the first century, their name begins to die out. They are the same as the later Saxons (*sahs*, *a sword*). Arminius, the national hero, was of this

tribe. Under this leader, in A.D. 9, Varus and his army were destroyed. A colossal statue to Arminius has been erected at Detmold in Westphalia. Cf. Ann. II. 88, *canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes.* — **marcentem . . . pacem**: the reason here given does not agree with the statements in Ann. XI. 16, *amissis per interna bella nobilibus;* and XII. 28, *Cherusci, cum quis (Chatti) aeternum discordant.* — **inlacessiti**: a word coined by Tacitus. See on Agr. 20. 3. — **impotentes**: see on 35. 3. — **falso**: a whole clause is implied in this.

2. **Cherusci**: sc. *vocati sunt.* — **cessit**: *cedere in aliquid* means *to be counted as*, or *to pass for something.* — **Fosi**: only mentioned here. — **ex aequo**: such a phrase, in place of an adverb, is a Graecism very common in Silver Latin.

37. 1. **Eundem . . . sinum**: referring to 35. 1. See on 1. 1. Ptolemy places the Cimbri at the northern extremity of the peninsula. It received its name, the *Cimbric Chersonesus*, from this people. There is general agreement that the Cimbri were Germans, and not Kelts. Mommsen explains the name as "Chempho, the champions, or, as their enemies translated it, the robbers," History of Rome, Bk. IV. Chap. V. It is remarkable that Tacitus says nothing in this chapter of the *Teutones*, who were the neighbors of the Cimbri, and who shared in their campaigns against Rome. — **gloria**: an ablative. — **utraque ripa**: sc. *Rheni.* — **castra ac spatia**: hendiadys, for *castra spatiosa*, and in apposition with *lata vestigia.* — **manus**: in its literal sense, *hands*, engaged in the work. — **tam magni exitus**: the story of a great inundation, by which the Cimbri were driven from home, is not well authenticated, though by no means improbable.

2. **Sescentesimum**, etc.: strictly it was A.U.C. 641 or B.C. 113. — **primum**: to be connected with *audita sunt.* — **ad alterum . . . consulatum**: A.D. 98, the year in which the Germania was written. — **ferme**: the superlative of *fere.* Tacitus uses this form, and not *fere*, in his historical writings. — **tam diu . . . vincitur**: *so long a time have we been trying to conquer Germany.*

3. **Non Samnis**, etc.: Anaphora. The variety of forms is rhetorical. — **ne Parthi quidem**: for *ne . . . quidem* at the end of a series, for emphasis, cf. 7. 2, *ne verberare quidem;* 44. 4, *ne libertinum quidem.* — **regno Arsacis**: Arsaces, the founder of the

Parthian monarchy, 256 B.C. The Parthian kings were named after him, as the Roman emperors were from Caesar. — **amisso et ipse Pacoro**: *et ipse* belongs grammatically to *deiectus Oriens*, and is placed in the midst of the passive ablative absolute, because it is logically the subject: *cum et ipse Pacorum amiserat. Et ipse* (*also*) is used when the same is said of a new subject which has previously been said of another. See on Agr. 25. 5. Pacorus was the son of the Parthian King Orodes, and fell in a battle with Ventidius, B.C. 38. — **infra Ventidium**: the words are satirical. Ventidius was of low origin; brought as a prisoner to Rome; became a dealer in mules; rose in favor under Caesar; later, attached himself to Antony, and, finally, reached the consulship. Crassus was defeated at Carrhae, B.C. 53, and it was the irony of fate that the base-born Ventidius should avenge his death.

4. **Carbone**: Cn. Papirius Carbo; defeated by the Cimbri at Noreia, B.C. 113. The defeat of M. Iunius Silanus, B.C. 109, by the same Cimbri, in Southern Gaul, is not mentioned by Tacitus. L. Cassius Longinus was defeated, not, as Tacitus says, by the Germans, but by the Helvetian *Tigurini*, B.C. 107. The three following were defeated by the Cimbri, B.C. 105. — **populo Romano**: the Republic, in contrast with the Empire (*Caesari Augusto*). — **Varum**: P. Quinctilius Varus suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Arminius, A.D. 9. — **trisque . . . legiones**: the 17th, 18th, and 19th. — **in Italia**: the Cimbri, defeated by Marius, B.C. 101. — **in Gallia**: Iulius Caesar defeated Ariovistus, B.C. 58, and the Usipi and Tencteri, B.C. 55. Tacitus makes no mention of Caesar's two fruitless campaigns against the Germans. — **Nero**: this is Tiberius. Germanicus was the son of Drusus. All three served with distinction in Germany.

5. **Gai Caesaris**: Caligula, who made a ridiculous pretense of an attack upon Germany, and brought back, as prisoners of war, Gauls decked out as Germans. Cf. Hist. IV. 15, *Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium*. See Merivale, Hist. V. 346 and foll. — **Inde otium**: under Claudius, Nero, and Galba. — **donec . . . adfectavere**: *donec*, *until*, with the perfect indicative, to express a fact. See on 1. 3; cf. 45. 4, *dedit;* Agr. 26. 3, *pulsi* (*sunt*); 36, 1, *cohortatus est*. — **occasione**, etc.: the struggles for the throne between Otho and Vitellius, and between Vitellius and Vespasian. During

the latter struggle Civilis rose in revolt. — **proximis temporibus**: under Domitian. For this emperor's campaign see on Agr. 39. 2. — **triumphati**: in imitation of Vergil, Tacitus uses *triumphare* as transitive. The regular construction is *triumphare de aliquo.*

38. 1. **Suebis**: the second main division of the Ethnography begins here. The name *Suebi* is not clearly explained. Mommsen says it means *the wandering people;* Grimm says, *the free, independent people.* This name in Tacitus is used to cover a group of tribes, which in his mind were contrasted with all other Germans. The Suebi of Caesar are certainly not the same people as the Suebi of Tacitus. Caesar places them upon the lower Rhine; Tacitus, in the interior. Grimm thinks the Suebi of Caesar are the Chatti. Mommsen holds that the name was not a tribal one, but was applied to "every German stock which could be described as a regularly wandering one." A similar explanation might be given of the Marcomani. — **adhuc**: *besides.*

2. **obliquare crinem**: the verb means *to turn backwards* or *sideways.* It is common with savage tribes to distinguish themselves from others by the manner of cutting or wearing the hair. Among the Suebi this marked the freemen; the slaves had short hair. Upon the column of Trajan two heads of prisoners are seen which show plainly this style of wearing the hair. — **horrentem**: because forced out of its natural position. — **ornatiorem**: sc. *capillum.* See on 31. 1.

3. **in altitudinem**, etc.: *in* denotes the end in view.

39. 1. **Semnones**: between the Elbe and the Oder. "They formed the religious and political center of a large confederation." Kiepert. — **memorant**: the subject is Greek and Roman writers. Cf. 3. 1. — **auguriis . . . sacram**: an hexameter verse. Cicero and Quintilian condemn rhythmical passages in prose. — **formidine**: used of a holy, religious fear. — **eiusdem sanguinis**: i.e. the Suebi. This assembly was of a purely religious character, and was held, therefore, in a consecrated grove. Even after the introduction of Christianity, the worship of the gods in trees and woods continued. — **caeso**: probably a prisoner. For human sacrifices, see on 9. 1.

2. **vinculo ligatus**: not an *anulus* as among the Chatti (31. 2), but a *vinculum*, perhaps made of woven twigs. — **ut minor**: sc. *deo.* — **attolli** and **evolvuntur** are reflexive.

3. **Eo**: see on 12. 2. — **superstitio**: see on Agr. 11. 4. — **tamquam**: see on 12. 2. — **regnator**: poetical and post-Augustan; probably the god *Tiu*. Later, as was the case with Mars among the Romans, he sank to a mere god of war. — **parentia**: sc. *sint*. See on 9. 2. — **Adicit auctoritatem**: *adds authority*, i.e. to this claim which they make. — **centum pagi**, etc.: Tacitus here affirms of the Semnones alone what Caesar says of all the Suebi. B. G. I. 37; IV. 1, *hi* (*Suebi*) *centum pagos habere dicuntur*. See on 12. 3. — **corpore**: *corporate power*.

40. 1. **Langobardos**: on the lower Elbe. The name is variously interpreted as meaning the people *having* either *long beards* or *long battle-axes*. The Lombards, the descendants of this people, conquered Italy, under Alboin, in A.D. 568. — **plurimis**: see on 31. 3. — **per obsequium**, etc.: notice the variety of construction, and the alliteration. See on 31. 2. Cf. Vell. Pat. II. 106, (*Langobardi*) *gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior*. — **Reudigni**, etc.: the seven small tribes here mentioned were settled north of the Langobardi, between the Elbe and the Oder, i.e. in Mecklenburg and southern Jutland. The Anglii are of special interest, as having formed part of the force which invaded Britain under Hengist and Horsa, A.D. 449, and finally gave it the name England.

2. **Nerthum**: the explanation *Terram matrem* is a Roman notion. Grimm connects the name with *Njörd*. *Freyr* and *Freya*, the children of Njörd, were honored with such a ceremony in Sweden, and in the spring went through the country, bringing fertility and peace.

3. **In insula Oceani**: Rügen, or Alsen, which latter has been explained as meaning *the island of the sanctuary*. — **sacerdoti**: a priest accompanied the car of the goddess. On the other hand, a priestess accompanied the car of Freyr. — **penetrali**: *the sacred car*. — **bubus feminis**: such expressions are formal and ceremonious.

4. **pax et quies**: compare the mediaeval *Truce of God*. — **templo**: i.e. the *castum nemus* mentioned above.

5. **numen ipsum**: not an image; therefore he says, *si credere velis*. The whole service was surrounded with mystery and fear.

41. 1. **Propior**: sc. *nobis*. — **quomodo**: in consecutive and final clauses Tacitus uses *quomodo* instead of *ut* (as), so as to avoid

using *ut* twice. — **Hermundurorum**: the first part of the name is *Irman*. Their home was in Thuringia, between the Elbe and the Danube. After the fifth century they were called *Thuringi*. — **non . . . sed**: i.e. *non modo . . . sed etiam*. — **in ripa**: sc. *Danuvii*. — **colonia**: this was *Augusta Vindelicorum*, the modern Augsburg.

2. **sine custode**: in contrast with 44. 3, and Hist. IV. 64, *sub custode*. This does not imply that the Raetian *limes* was not in existence at the time. See Momms. Prov. I. 172, n. — **Albis oritur**: an error on the part of Tacitus, since this river rises among the Marcomani. Tacitus may have confused the Elbe with the Saale. — **flumen inclutum**, etc.: the plan of Augustus included the conquest of Germany as far as the Elbe. Drusus reached this river, and L. Domitius crossed it (cf. Ann. IV. 44). But after the campaign of Tiberius, A.D. 4, no Roman army advanced so far.

42. 1. **Naristi**: probably a division of the Marcomani. — **Marcomani**: *the men of the border*. They occupied Bohemia under Maroboduus, drove out the Boii, and founded a great Suebian kingdom. — **Quadi**: on the western border of Hungary.

2. **Marobodui**: like the Greek Ἱππόμαχος. Cf. Ann. II. 63, *non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde metuendos esse*. — **Tudri**: nothing whatever is known of the king, nor is the nominative certain, whether Tuder or Tudrus. Grimm compares the Anglo-Saxon *tudor*, *tuddor* = *suboles*. Of the *Externos reges* nothing is known. — **iam et**: see on 15. 3.

43. 1. **Retro**: to the north. These tribes were settled in Silesia, Gallicia, etc. — **Cotini**: to be distinguished from the *Gotones*. They were Keltic. — **referunt**: *resemble*. — **Osos**: Tacitus speaks positively here. See on 28. 4. — **quod . . . patiuntur**: a substantive clause.

2. **quo magis pudeat**: sc. *tributorum*. They ought to use the iron for weapons, so as to assert their freedom.

3. **continuum . . . iugum**: probably the Riesengebirge and Sudetic range. — **ultra quod**: i.e. in Silesia and Poland. The *Lugii* were between the Oder and the Vistula. The Vandals and Burgundians came later from this people.

4. **muliebri ornatu**: by some referred merely to the hair. —

interpretatione Romana: this is the principle which Tacitus follows in all that he says of the German gods. Cf. 9.

5. **Ea vis numini**: such twin deities are not uncommon. The Slavic mythology had *Lel* and *Polel;* the Northern mythology, *Baldr* and *Vali*. — **Alcis**: a form as troublesome as *Tudri*. See on 41. 2. The form has been explained as a nominative, a genitive, or a dative. According to Nipperdey, Ann. II. 16, Tacitus uses the predicate dative of adjectives only; otherwise, the nominative, or, rarely, the genitive. See Draeger, Syntax u. Stil. § 47. Schweizer-Sidler regards *Alcis* as a nominative; Gerber and Greef, as a dative. — **lenocinantur**: *they further*, or *add to*.

6. **Nigra scuta**, etc.: this explains *arte*, as *atras noctes* explains *tempore*. For the color of the shield see on 6. 2. — **feralis exercitus**: *the spectral array*.

7. **Gotones**: these are the Goths; on both sides of the lower Vistula. — **regnantur**: see on 25. 3. — **adductius**: the figure is that of a charioteer. Cf. Cic. Lael. 13, *habenas adducere*. — **ab Oceano**: *on the Ocean*. — **Rugii et Lemovii**: in Pomerania. The island Rügen preserves the former name.

44. 1. **Suionum**: the Swedes. Tacitus regarded Scandinavia as an island. See on 1. 1. The ships which Tacitus describes are like the *camarae* (Hist. III. 47) or those described in Ann. II. 6. Such boats are in common use in the Orkney and Shetland islands. — **velis**: this may be either dative or ablative; probably the latter, as in Vergil, VI. 302, *ipse* (*Charon*) *ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat*. — **in ordinem**, etc.: not fastened, as in the Roman galley.

2. **opibus**: won by trade or piracy; in contrast with what is said of the Germans in general in 5. 3–6. Others take *opes* in the sense of *power*. — **precario**: i.e. depending on the will of the subject.

3. **servo**: the noble and free would not lend themselves to this service.

45. 1. **Suionas**: in barbarian names the Greek accusative plural is frequently used. Cf. 46. 7, *Oxionas*. — **pigrum**, etc.: such statements are based upon Pythias. He speaks of a θάλασσα πεπηγυῖα καὶ νεκρή. — **terrarum orbem**: Tacitus uses the regular expression, *orbis terrarum*, in Agr. 31. 3 and Ann. XV. 13 (where it

occurs in a speech). In the Histories we find only *terrarum orbis*, and in the Annals (with the above exception) only *orbis terrae*. — **in ortum edurat**: see on Agr. 12. 4. Compare accounts of the midnight sun as seen at the North Cape. — **sonum . . . audiri**: the expressions are significant which connect with sunrise the idea of a noise, as "daybreak," "peep of day." See Grimm's D. Mythol. II. pp. 621–2. Such superstitions are quite sure to arise among people who live upon the seashore, to whom the sun seems to be a ball of fire plunging into the water. See Tyler's Early History of Mankind, p. 315. — **formas equorum**: the chariot and the nimbus, or gleaming rays about the head, are features common to the general conception of the Sun God. Some refer this account to the Aurora.

2. **fama vera**: sc. *est*. — **tantum**: *only*; it belongs with *illuc usque*. — **natura**: *the world*. Cf. Agr. 33. 8, where Britain is spoken of as *terrarum ac naturae finis*. — **Ergo**: since he can go no farther toward the north. — **dextro**: i.e. looking toward the north. A province on the Gulf of Finland is called *Esthonia*. — **Aestiorum**: an old Prussian stock, related to the Slavic. — **lingua Britannicae propior**: this is inaccurate. The Old Prussian, which has been extinct for two hundred years, is nearer to the Old German than to the Keltic. — **deum**: this short form is more common in Tacitus than *deorum*, which appears in 9. 1, 3; 34. 4.

3. **formas aprorum**: probably the boar was sacred to this deity, or little wooden figures were worn as amulets. — **ferri, frequens fustium**: alliteration; see on 40. 1. — **laborant**: used transitively, in place of having *in* with the abl.

4. **Sed et**: implying a preceding *non modo*. See on 8. 3. Cf. 12. 2; 22. 3. See Draeger, Hist. Syntax, II. p. 109. — **et mare scrutantur**: this is said of the greed of the Romans, Agr. 30. 5. For what follows, see Humboldt's Kosmos, II. 410. — **soli omnium, etc.**:

In the time of Tacitus, the amber trade was limited to the coast of Prussia. The "blue earth" of Samland, the most important source of the amber supply, extends along the Baltic for 60 miles. A recent German estimate supposes that it would have required 300 forest generations, of 120 years each, to give the earth its present richness in this product.

— **sucinum**: perhaps from *sucus*. Tacitus avoids the foreign word for amber, *electrum*. O. Weisse, in Rhein. Mus. XXXVIII.

p. 544, rejects the derivation from *sucus*, and prefers a Phenician origin, since the Phenicians were doubtless the first to bring amber to the shores of the Mediterranean. — **glaesum**: also written *glesum*. Pliny has the first form. Perhaps related to the German *Glas* and our *glass*. The word, at all events, has the idea of *brightness, transparency*. — **quae natura**: sc. *sit*. See on 9. 2. — **ratio**: *process of nature*. — **ut barbaris**: *iis* is to be supplied. — **donec**: see on 37. 5. — **nomen**: *renown*.

5. **in nullo usu**: Plin., H. N. XXXVII. 35, says it was used for fuel. The name *Bernstein* = *Brennstein* seems to refer to its inflammable character. They also used it for ornament. — **perfertur**: sc. *ad nos*. The traffic passed mainly through Pannonia to Rome. See Momms. Hist. Rome, Bk. I. Chap. X. Roman ladies valued it highly. — **terrena**, etc.: Martial speaks of ants and bees in pieces of amber, IV. 32. 59; VI. 15.

6. **sudantur**: for *exsudantur*.

7. **Sitonum**: the name does not occur elsewhere. Probably the Finnish inhabitants of Scandinavia. — **femina dominatur**: Grimm finds traces of a people called *Cvenas* in this region. The Gothic *quinô* (γυνή, queen) means mother or lady. *Cvenaland* = *terra feminarum*. The name of this Finnish tribe may have been confounded with the Gothic *quinô*, and so have given rise to this story. Prammer accepts the story literally.

46. 1. **Peucinorum**: to Tacitus, Peucini and Bastarnae are the same. Pliny names the Bastarnae as one of the five grand divisions of the German people. The name *Peucini* is from Πεύκη, an island at the mouth of the Danube. The Bastarnae, on the lower Danube, are the first German people of whom we have any historical knowledge. — **Venedorum**: the Wends, on the right bank of the Vistula. The Slavs first make their appearance in history under this name. — **Fennorum**: the Finns, i.e. the people of the Fens. They belonged to the north-east of Europe, were probably in Europe before the Kelts, and were driven to the north by the Kelts, Germans, and Slavs. — **Sarmatis**: portions of the old Scythians. — **quamquam**: see on 28. 6.

2. **ex moribus**: sc. *Sarmatarum*.

3. **domos figunt**: *they build permanent homes;* in contrast with the nomadic Sarmatae.

4. **cubile**: Halm reads *cubili*, but the change in syntax is in keeping with the style of Tacitus.

5. **comitantur**: sc. *feminae viros.* — **ferarum**: an objective genitive. Cf. 16. 4, *suffugium hiemis.*

6. **ingemere agris**: the dative. Cicero has *in* with the abl. — **inlaborare**: ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. The phrase means *to work at building houses.* Others take it as an abl. of place, *in the house.*

7. **ora hominum**, etc.: perhaps based upon the dress of tribes in the far north, where the body is wholly covered with skins, and only the face is seen. See on 34. 3. — **in medio**: the traditional reading, *in medium*, was changed by Nipperdey and Halm, as above.

INDEX TO THE NOTES.

[A. refers to Agricola; G. to The Germania.]

Announcement.

THE STUDENTS' SERIES OF LATIN CLASSICS.

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SUPERVISION OF

ERNEST MONDELL PEASE, A.M.,
Leland Stanford Junior University,

AND

HARRY THURSTON PECK, Ph.D., L.H.D.,
Columbia College.

This Series will contain the Latin authors usually read in American schools and colleges, and also others well adapted to class-room use, but not as yet published in suitable editions. The several volumes will be prepared by special editors, who will aim to revise the text carefully and to edit it in the most serviceable manner. Where there are German editions of unusual merit, representing years of special study under the most favorable circumstances, these will be used, with the consent of the foreign editor, as a basis for the American edition. In this way it will be possible to bring out text-books of the highest excellence in a comparatively short period of time.

The editions will be of two kinds, conforming to the different methods of studying Latin in our best institutions. Some will contain in the introductions and commentary such a careful and minute treatment of the author's life, language, and style as to afford the means for a thorough appreciation of the author and his place in Latin literature. Others will aim merely to assist the student to a good reading knowledge of the author, and will have only the text and brief explanatory notes at the bottom of each page. The latter will be particularly acceptable for sight reading, and for rapid reading after the minute study of an author or period in one of the fuller editions. For instance, after a class has read a play or two of Plautus and Terence carefully, with special reference to the peculiarities of style, language, metres, the methods of presenting a play, and the like, these editions will be admirably suited for the rapid reading of other plays.

The Series will also contain various supplementary works prepared by competent scholars. Every effort will be made to give the books a neat and attractive appearance.

The following volumes are now ready or in preparation: —

CAESAR, Gallic War, Books I–V. By HAROLD W. JOHNSTON, Ph.D., Professor in the Indiana University.

CATULLUS, Selections, based upon the edition of Riese. By THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Ph.D., Professor in Boston University.

CICERO, Select Orations. By B. L. D'OOGE, A.M., Professor in the State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.

CICERO, De Senectute et de Amicitia. By CHARLES E. BENNETT, A.M., Professor in the Cornell University.

CICERO, Tusculan Disputations, Books I and II. By Professor PECK.

CICERO, De Oratore, Book I, based upon the edition of Sorof. By W. B. OWEN, Ph.D., Professor in Lafayette College. *Ready.*

CICERO, Select Letters, based in part upon the edition of Süpfle-Böckel. By Professor PEASE.

EUTROPIUS, Selections. By VICTOR S. CLARK, Lit.B., New Ulm High School, Minn.

GELLIUS, Selections. By Professor PECK.

HORACE, Odes and Epodes. By PAUL SHOREY, Ph.D., Professor in the Chicago University. *Nearly Ready.*

HORACE, Satires and Epistles, based upon the edition of Kiessling. By JAMES H. KIRKLAND, Ph.D., Professor in Vanderbilt University. *Ready.*

LIVY, Books XXI and XXII, based upon the edition of Wölfflin. By JOHN K. LORD, Ph.D., Professor in Dartmouth College. *Ready.*

LIVY, Book I, for rapid reading. By Professor LORD.

LUCRETIUS, De Rerum Natura, Book III. By W. A. MERRILL, Ph.D., Professor in the University of California.

MARTIAL, Selections. By CHARLES KNAPP, Ph.D., Professor in Barnard College.

NEPOS, for rapid reading. By ISAAC FLAGG, Ph.D., Professor in the University of California. *Ready.*

NEPOS, Selections. By J. C. JONES, A.M., Professor in the University of Missouri.

OVID, Selections from the Metamorphoses, based upon the edition of Meuser-Egen. By B. L. WIGGINS, A.M., Professor in the University of the South.

OVID, Selections, for rapid reading. By A. L. BONDURANT, A.M., Professor in the University of Mississippi.

PETRONIUS, Cena Trimalchionis, based upon the edition of Bücheler. By W. E. WATERS, Ph.D., President of Wells College.

PLAUTUS, Captivi, for rapid reading. By GROVE E. BARBER, A.M., Professor in the University of Nebraska.

PLAUTUS, Menaechmi, based upon the edition of Brix. By HAROLD N. FOWLER, Ph.D., Professor in the Western Reserve University. *Ready.*

PLINY, Select Letters, for rapid reading. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, Ph.D., Professor in the Western Reserve University. *Ready.*

QUINTILIAN, Book X and Selections from Book XII, based upon the edition of Krüger. By CARL W. BELSER, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Colorado.

SALLUST, Catiline, based upon the edition of Schmalz. By CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the College of the City of New York. *Ready.*

SENECA, Select Letters. By E. C. WINSLOW, A.M.

TACITUS, Annals, Book I and Selections from Book II, based upon the edition of Nipperdey-Andresen. By E. M. HYDE, Ph.D., Professor in Lehigh University.

TACITUS, Annals, Book XV. By J. EVERETT BRADY, Ph.D., Professor in Smith College.

TACITUS, Agricola and Germania, based upon the editions of Schweizer-Sidler and Dräger. By A. G. HOPKINS, Ph.D., Professor in Hamilton College. *Ready.*

TACITUS, Histories, Book I and Selections from Books II–V, based upon the edition of Wolff. By EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Ph.D., Professor in the Johns Hopkins University.

TERENCE, Adelphoe, for rapid reading. By WILLIAM L. COWLES, A.M., Professor in Amherst College. *Nearly Ready.*

TERENCE, Phormio, based upon the edition of Dziatzko. By HERBERT C. ELMER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in the Cornell University. *Ready.*

TIBULLUS AND PROPERTIUS, Selections, based upon the edition of Jacoby. By HENRY F. BURTON, A.M., Professor in the University of Rochester.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS, Fifty Selections, for rapid reading. By CHARLES S. SMITH, A.M., College of New Jersey. *Ready.*

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, **Historia Romana, Book II.** By F. E. ROCKWOOD, A.M., Professor in Bucknell University. *Ready.*

VERGIL, Books I–VI. By E. ANTOINETTE ELY, A.M., Hampton College, and S. FRANCES PELLETT, A.M., Binghamton High School, N.Y.

VERGIL, The Story of Turnus from Aen. VII–XII, for rapid reading. By MOSES SLAUGHTER, Ph.D., Professor in Iowa College.

VIRI ROMAE, Selections. By G. M. WHICHER, A.M., Packer Collegiate Institute.

LATIN COMPOSITION, for college use. By WALTER MILLER, A.M., Professor in the Leland Stanford Jr. University. *Ready.*

LATIN COMPOSITION, for advanced classes. By H. R. FAIRCLOUGH, A.M., Professor in the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

HAND-BOOK OF LATIN SYNONYMS. By Mr. MILLER.

A FIRST BOOK IN LATIN. By HIRAM TUELL, A.M., Principal of the Milton High School, Mass., and HAROLD N. FOWLER, Ph.D., Western Reserve University. *Ready.*

EXERCISES IN LATIN COMPOSITION, for schools. By M. Grant DANIELL, A.M., Principal of Chauncy-Hall School, Boston. *Ready.*

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE ROMANS, a manual for the use of schools and colleges. By HARRIET WATERS PRESTON and LOUISE DODGE. *Ready.*

GREEK AND ROMAN MYTHOLOGY, based on the recent work of Steuding. By KARL P. HARRINGTON, A.M., Professor in the University of North Carolina, and HERBERT C. TOLMAN, Ph.D., Professor in Vanderbilt University.

ATLAS ANTIQUUS, twelve maps of the ancient world, for schools and colleges. By DR. HENRY KIEPERT, M.R. Acad. Berlin. *Ready.*

Tentative arrangements have been made for other books not ready to be announced.